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ZERI I POPULLIT VIEWS SITUATION IN POLAND

AU131610 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 13 Feb 81

["Only Its Working Class Can Save Poland"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 13 Feb (ATA)--Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an editorial which reads:

The situation in Poland continues to become more complicated and is going from bad to worse. As a result of the uninterrupted strikes, the economy has been destroyed and is on the edge of the precipice. Social life is degrading from day to day. Confusion, anarchy and disintegration prevail everywhere. Under the pressure and threats of Solidarnosc, the Polish party and government have been forced to make concessions after concessions and cede a great deal from their positions.

Solidarnosc Is Out-and-Out
Reactionary Movement

All the measures taken and compromises made not only have not led to the stabilisation of the situation, but have worsened it still more. Solidarnosc is the one which makes the law in the country. The aim it has set to itself is becoming ever more evident, to gradually seize the state power, to extricate Poland from the Warsaw Treaty and push it toward the West. All its actions have been subjected to this strategy. Solidarnosc which poses itself as a worker trade union, is an out-and-out reactionary movement.

The Polish Catholic Church and the
Vatican Stand Behind Solidarnosc

The Polish Catholic Church and the Vatican, which guide and lead it, stand behind it. But besides these, which are represented by the clan of Lech Walesa, the "Club of Catholic Intelligentsia", the KOR, which is a group of representatives of internal reaction and the external capitalist one of the world, the Nationalist Party, "the Confederation of Independent Poland" and some other groupings of the kind take part in the leadership of this organisation.

There are precisely these various reactionary political forces and currents which at present maintain the Polish working class under their claws and which manipulate it for their own political aims.

PZPR Is a Completely Anti-Marxist
and Counter-Revolutionary Party

For the time being these currents are united and in alliance with one another against the Polish United Workers' Party, which is divided into various pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet, nationalist and chauvinist, reformist and clerical factions and groups. This is a completely anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary party. The policy and ideology it has pursued have discredited it in the eyes of the masses and have made it incapable to exercise its influence and impose its will. The almighty Catholic Church, its spiritual and ideological power are predominant today in the life of the Polish people. In a camouflaged way and resorting to the new pans [squires] who are in power in Poland, the Vatican runs not only the spiritual, but also the temporal questions. Now resorting to Solidarnosc the Catholic Church fights to fully seize in its hands also the management of the state.

The tactics pursued by the Polish church, the Vatican and Western Europe is to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. They preach: Take a step and consolidate the achieved positions, take another step and avoid the Soviet interference, use the "21 points" as an economic platform as to deceive the working class and transform them into political actions to corrode the foundations of the revisionist system and of the pseudo-communist party. Then from the city go to the countryside, "peasant Solidarnosc", get together and organize politically the pans lands, who never allowed the collectivism and remained the fundamental basis of the Polish church and old chauvinist traditions.

The "Ultras" Within "Solidarnosc" Make the U.S. Policy Having as its Target the Armed Conflict Within Poland Which Would Lead Also to the Destruction of the Tactics of French-German Ostpolitik

But within the Solidarnosc there are also the "ultras" who want to overthrow the French-German "Ostpolitik", in particular the "detente" of the Western European powers with the Soviet Union. The "ultras" stand for the tactics of rapid advance and strong blows even in case that they might result in the Soviet interference and armed conflict. They make the U.S. policy having as its target the armed conflict within Poland which would lead also to the destruction of the tactics of French-German Ostpolitik. This would be a way which would weaken France and Germany and would turn them into the positions of the obedient, threatening them with the danger coming from Soviet imperialism.

This is the strategy and these are the tactics of the internal Polish reaction and the international one. These are the objectives of the counter-revolution in Poland which is taking place in a counter-revolutionary situation and power.

The Polish Revisionist Leadership Is in a Situation in Which it Does not Know With Whom To Unite and With Whom to Separate

The actual revisionist power is in a situation in which it receives blows from all the sides and does not know which road to embark so as to save itself. The religious reaction manipulates the working class without mentioning the countryside in which it has had strong bases. The party and the state power which have lost their authority and influence, are forced to make concessions to the church and to accept it as an umpire in the conflict. Practically, they pin their hopes on the mercy of Wyszynki.

But the Polish revisionist power must please both the "goat and cabbage". It has to behave very carefully and listen attentively also to the rigorous exigencies of the Soviet ally. At the same time it must bear in mind also the requests of the pans in power, the men of the administration, the apparatuses of the party, economy and army, who also want to preserve their privileges.

This situation has brought about chaos and disintegration in the ranks of the party and the state power. Now they do not operate as centralized institutions. Their grassroot listens more to what "Solidarnosc" and Episcopate say than the directives coming from the Central Committee or the orders issued by the government. The revisionist leadership speaks for a "renovation", but it has no program of action at all to extract the country from the crisis and it does not know with whom to unite and with whom to separate. The prime ministers that replace one another bring no change at all. The renovation has remained a slogan without content.

Kremlin is in great troubles but it is not only the Polish leadership which is in a great trouble. The Kremlin and its allies of the Warsaw Treaty too, are in such a situation. To leave Poland slide onto the Western camp, this means to put the alliance in danger, to put the Soviet hegemony in the Eastern countries in danger, to put the vital roads of the Soviet Army in Europe in danger, to put the actual Soviet strategy based on the force of the military attack in danger. For the Soviet social imperialism it is not difficult technically to interfere military to establish "order" in Poland. But this would endanger the East-West trade relations, would endanger billions of dollars that the Soviet Union and its satellites have taken and take from the United States of America and the Western Europe, would endanger "detente", would ruin the Franco-German "Ostpolitik", which the Kremlin wants to exploit in its rivalry with U.S. imperialism.

This explains that furious propaganda and "harsh" stands of the Soviet media against those forces which it describes as "antisoviet, anti-socialist", etc. The Kremlin openly and persistently protects its Polish clan in Poland, exercises pressure and makes threats, keeps in a state of alert the forces of attack, and in order to show itself "calm" and for the sake of appearance it accepts something from the retreats made by the Polish leadership.

The aim and desire of the Soviet Union is to smash diversion with diversion. But, when it will see that all its hopes for a solution from within will vanish, then two ways remain to it: either to interfere with arms and "stabilize" the situation with violence, or accept the total defeat, that is, the destruction of the Warsaw Treaty and the Comecon. But Soviet social-imperialism cannot accept this total defeat. Kania, Wyszynki and Lech Walesa, as well as Bonn and Paris know this.

Actually in Poland There is No Organized Political Force To Take the Leadership and Responsibility To Get the Country Out of Chaos

Actually in Poland, there is no political organized force to take the leadership and responsibility to get the country out of chaos and anarchy, from the dangers threatening its freedom and independence, its future. The Polish people, the working class, the laboring peasantry, progressive intelligentsia: The genuine patriots will fall out of the frying pan into the fire if they do not understand the complicated situations where the various reactionary capitalist-clerical and revisionist currents have plunged them into. The non-existence of the communist party (Marxist-Leninist) is and remains the greatest handicap of the Polish working class.

Without a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, the Polish Working Class Fails To Find its Road Toward the Revolution

It fails to find its road toward the revolution without a Marxist-Leninist communist party. The working class will always be divided and as such it will be manipulated by the capitalist and revisionist-bourgeois parties for their own interests. Politically divided and without a Marxist-Leninist communist party, the working class will always become a tool of these parties and will play the game of the reaction and reformists. In the present time, the revolution and any positive and progressive change to the advantage of the people and the oppressed classes cannot be realized if they are not led by a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist communist party.

Through its organ ZERI I POPULLIT, the Party of Labour of Albania has expressed in a clear-cut way and politically understandable, its opinions on the events in Poland, not only on today's events but also on those of the past. It has denounced the regime of Gomulka, Gierek and actually of Kania, who, due to the revisionist and capitalist road they have pursued, bear the responsibility for the situation created in Poland and the dangers it presents for the others. Our party has denounced and exposed the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, their counter-revolutionary policy and acts, has denounced and exposed U.S. imperialism, the neocolonialist states and their aims, has powerfully supported the liberation movement of the peoples and the proletarian revolutions.

Our party has continuously supported the economic and political claims of the working class of any capitalist or revisionist country. But it has seen and sees every movement of the working class from the class angle, from the Marxist-Leninist angle and the political one. It is not deceived by the slogans and appeals, but carefully sees that to whom do the orientations serve, what way do the claims, strikes or uprisings take. In this way, our party analyses, judges and draws conclusions also about the strikes in Poland.

The Present Strikes in Poland Do Not Bring Grist to the Mill of the Revolution, but They Help Counter-Revolution Take Place Within the Counter-Revolution

The present strikes in Poland do not lead to the intensification of the revolutionary movement of the working class, do not serve its political and ideological emancipation, to the revolutionary organisation of the working people, to the enhancement of their revolutionary consciousness. These strikes do not bring grist to the mill of the revolution, but help counter-revolution take place within the counter-revolution.

The strikes are not led by Polish revolutionaries, but by the representatives of the reaction, the friends and allies of the Vatican and of the world imperialism.

They make the workers go on strike in order to realize their counter-revolutionary aims both in the internal and external aspects. They want to replace an oppressive and exploiting regime with another one not less savage and hostile to the Polish workers and people.

As they are for the political, economic strikes, for the people's uprisings, for the revolution, the Marxist-Leninists support neither the reactionary alliances nor the counter-revolutionary tendencies when they exist inside them. On the contrary, they support the revolutionary spirit, the progressive and revolutionary alliances. Any strike movement is not all means and in all situations in the interest of the working class. But when the people and the class take in them, there is something positive in them, in which they should get hold of to turn whole into positive, in the interest of the people, the class and the revolution.

The stands and assessments of our party about the events in Poland, the strikes and claims of the Polish working class have consistently been Marxist-Leninist at any phase and at any stage of their development. It has seen and has pointed out the wrong political orientations of the strikes, though efforts were displayed by the Polish reaction to hide the true political aims, covering them with mere economic claims.

Lech Walesa, the man of the Vatican and the Polish Primate, cried to the top of his lungs, whoever would like to listen to and believe him, that allegedly he was not a political man, that he was not making politics, that Solidarnosc was not a political party. Many were deceived and, in the first place, the working class of Poland.

> The Road of the Revolution Lenin Teaches Us Is the Way out for the Polish People. The Polish Working Class That Toppled Gomulka and Gierek, Can and Must Batter Down Also Kania and His Ilk, Lech Walesas and the Vatican Influence, Yoke of the Soviet Revisionists and the World Capitalism, With the U.S. One at the Head

But is there a way out for the Polish people and the working class from the catastrophic situation in which they are in and, if there is any, which is this road?

We Albanian communists say that this is the road of the revolution Lenin teaches us, is the road of the implementation of his strategy of the revolution and the true revolutionary tactics on the basis of the concrete situations created in each [word indistinct].

The Polish working class showed once again its great vitality. It overthrew Gomulka and toppled Gierek. It can, must batter down also Kania and his ilk, Lech Walesas and the Vatican influence, the yoke of the Soviet revisionists and world capitalism, with the U.S. one at the head.

> The Poland of the Revolution has Neither Died nor Will it Die, It Has Only Lost the Road

The Poland of the revolution has neither died nor will it die, it has only lost the road. It has been and is being led into dangerous impasses. Poland should find the real road, the road of the proletarian revolution, led by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Polish working class which has outstanding revolutionary traditions, must give birth to a new genuine Marxist-Leninist communist party and after its creation, test and temper it in the class struggle for the revolution. The time for this has come, it admits neither delays nor shufflings.

Poland can be brought out in the light and saved from the deep crisis it is in only by its working class. This can be done neither by Kania and Walesa, nor by the Soviet revisionists and U.S. imperialists. The friends and well-wishers of the Polish people, of their freedom and independence, should tell them openly and sincerely the truth. This is also the best help being given to them. This is also full support for and solidarity with them. The sooner the Polish working class is freed from the illusions and deceptions, the sooner it will carry out its historic mission in the service of the homeland and the revolution.

IRANIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION PAYS 'FRIENDLY VISIT'

Delegation Arrives in Tirana

AU141909 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] A government delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran led by Deputy Prime Minister Dr Abdollah Jasemi arrived today in Tirana on a friendly visit. The delegation was received in Tirana by Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Foreign Minister Nesti Nase; Nesip Ibrahimi, chairman of the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee; and others.

Shehu Receives Delegation

AU151416 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] Tirana, 15 Feb (ATA)--The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania Mehmet Shehu received at a meeting the government delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, led by the Deputy Prime Minister Dr 'Abdollah Jasemi, yesterday afternoon.

During the meeting, which passed in a warm and cordial atmosphere, talks were held on the friendly relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Islamic Republic of Iran and opinions were exchanged on some important international political problems.

The Deputy Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran Dr 'Abdollah Jasemi informed of the victories attained by the Iranian people in their Islamic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution, for the overthrow of the Satrap Regime of Pahlavi and of the consistent efforts and struggle the Iranian people and government are waging to safeguard these victories. He also spoke of the just struggle of the Iranian people to defend the revolution and their homeland against the interferences and aggressive plans of the imperialist superpowers, especially of U.S. imperialism, and reaction and for the liberation of the territories occupied by Iraq.

On his part, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania Mehmet Shehu expressed to the Iranian friends the feelings of sincere fraternal friendship of the Albanian people and Government for the valiant and freedom-loving Iranian people as well as their solidarity and firm backing for the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people and for their just cause. Comrade Mehmet Shehu expressed the principled stand of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in support of the just and courageous struggle the Iranian people and the Islamic Republic of Iran have waged and are waging against the intrigues and plots of the imperialist superpowers, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and reaction, to safeguard the Iranian revolution, the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of the country. Likewise, he stressed that the continuation of the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran brings about colossal damage and grave consequences to their national freedom and independence and paves the road to the interference and aggression of the imperialist superpowers, that the Iraqi occupation troops should return as soon as possible within the borders of Iraq, thus to make possible the solution of the existing disagreements in the spirit of understanding and good neighborliness.

Present at this meeting were the Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania Manush Myftiu, the Foreign Minister Nesti Nase, the Secretary General of the Council of Ministers Kico Kasapi, etc.

Shehu Gives Dinner

AU151420 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] Tirana, 15 Feb (ATA)--The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania Mehmet Shehu, gave a dinner in honor of the government delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, led by the Deputy Premier Dr 'Abdollah Jasemi, in the "Palace of Brigades" last night.

Present were the Vice President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Spiro Koleka, the Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers Manush Byftiu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Nesti Nase, the Minister of Health Llambi Zicishti, the Minister of Foreign Trade Nedin Hoxha, the Secretary of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania Xhorxhi Robo, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tirana District People's Council Nesip Ibrahimi and others.

During the dinner, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu and the Deputy Prime Minister Dr 'Abdollah Jasemi toasted to the friendship between the two peoples and the further development of the friendly relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The dinner passed in a warm and cordial atmosphere.

Iranian Delegation Departs

AU162014 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] The government delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Dr 'Abdollah Jasemi, left our country on 16 February. The delegation had paid a friendly visit to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Bidding farewell to the delegation at Rinas Airport were Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Nesti Nase, foreign minister; Nesip Ibrahimi, chairman of the Tirana People's Council Executive Committee, and others. This morning the government delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Dr 'Abdollah Jasemi, paid homage at the graves of the homeland's martyrs. They also visited Tirana University and the Enver Hoxha tractor combine. On these visits, the delegation was accompanied by Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Foreign Minister Nesti Nase, and others.

LLESHI GREETS IRAN'S BANI-SADR ON NATIONAL HOLIDAY

AU102008 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

On the occasion of your national holiday, the second anniversary of the victory of the Iranian Revolution, it is my pleasure, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and myself, to send you and the friendly Iranian people warm greetings and best wishes. I wish your people successes in their work and struggle for the nation's progress and prosperity and also for the defense of national freedom and independence from the plots of imperialist powers. I express the conviction that friendly relations between our two peoples and countries will develop in the future.

BRIEFS

NEW HOXHA BOOK PUBLISHED--The third volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's book "On Socialist Agriculture" (collection of works) came off the press. This volume includes materials of 1966-1979 period. This publication contains thematic, geographic indexes and indexes of agricultural enterprises, cooperatives and institutions for the three volumes. [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 10 Feb 81 AU]

KOSOVO DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE--The delegation of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo led by its chairman, Prof Idriz Ajeti, visited the city of Korce. The delegation was accompanied by Prof Luan Omari, the scientific secretary of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Vangjel Cerava, chairman of the Korce District People's Council Executive Committee, hosted a dinner in honor of the guests from Kosovo. The delegation has left Albania. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Feb 81 AU]

CONTINUED REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY HUNGARY'S LAZAR

Todorov Toasts Lazar

AU161647 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Feb 81 p 8

["Text" of toast by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at a 12 February Sofia dinner in honor of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Lazar, dear Hungarian friends. As host of this regular meeting of ours, I greet you most cordially with the traditional Bulgarian "welcome!", and wish you a pleasant stay and fruitful work.

Your visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, dear Comrade Lazar, is taking place in a remarkable year for the Bulgarian people. You will feel the determination and working enthusiasm of socialist Bulgaria and our people's will to invest their entire energy and skill in deeds worthy of the 12th BCP Congress, the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state and the 90th anniversary of the Marxist party of the Bulgarian workers class.

The Bulgarian communists are preparing for their congress, which will mark the strategic dimensions of Bulgaria's economic, social and spiritual development, and prompt nation-wide intensification of social production on the basis of modern scientific-technical progress, thereby further increasing the people's standard of life, their education, qualifications and socialist consciousness.

We follow with steady interest the achievements of the Hungarian people in building socialism. We know that you--our friends in ideas and goals--are tirelessly working to implement the decisions of the 12th MSZMP Congress in deeds, and successfully implementing the plan for socioeconomic development of the People's Republic of Hungary during the Sixth 5-Year Plan.

Our fraternal peoples are connected by traditional and historic friendship. This friendship gains new dimensions and forms under the conditions of building the developed socialist society. The BCP and MSZMP, led by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are tirelessly working to maintain and enrich the ancient Bulgarian-Hungarian friendship. Todor Zhivkov and Janos Kadar, our first leaders, are paying special attention to our comprehensive relations, and are constantly enriching them with new ideas and trends.

Together with you, Comrade Lazar, we are now reviewing implementation of the agreements between our first leaders, reached during the June 1979 official and friendly visit in Bulgaria of the Hungarian party-state delegation led by Comrade Kadar. The balance is positive. However,as communists, we are not satisfied with what has been achieved, and consider that our possibilities are far greater. We are facing responsible tasks which are to be solved by joint efforts.

Bulgarian-Hungarian relations in the areas of culture, education, science, and the mass media are developing upward, despite the fact that in these areas the possibilities also have not been fully exhausted.

I am convinced, Comrade Lazar, that you share my opinion that the successes of our two fraternal states are a result of the unity of thought and action with the USSR. The close cooperation of our two allied states with the Warsaw Pact and CEMA member-countries is also an immutable factor of our upward development.

I would not like to make a detailed analysis of the present international situation or the place and role of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the agreed and coordinated foreign policy activity of the Warsaw Pact member-countries. I will only stress that the results of detente, which have been reached with so many efforts first of all on the part of the fraternal socialist countries--and in first place the USSR--are undergoing a serious test.

Militaristic appeals for a new arms race are being voiced, the present Chinese leaders joining in, and new hotbeds of dangerous international tension are emerging. We express our hope that sense and the care for world peace will prevail. We have repeatedly stressed that the magic key to solving many of the complex contemporary problems can be found in the broad platform of concrete proposals for political and military detente made by the USSR and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, the great statesman and peacemaker of our time.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is making its contribution at the Madrid conference, so that the conference can continue in a constructive spirit and the most important issues on which our continent's peace and security depend can be reviewed. The significance of the Polish People's Republic proposal on organizing a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe takes on special significance against the background of recent events.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is conducting a peaceful, consistent and principled policy of good neighborliness, mutual understanding and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and the world. This policy is void of any opportunistic hesitations. Our constant striving is to make a real contribution to the triumph of the ideas of peace and security.

Please allow me, Comrade Lazar, to express once again my deep conviction that this meeting of ours, as well as the talks which we are conducting and the cocuments which will be signed, will reveal new possibilities for cooperation in the economy and other areas of social life. Together and united, we will construct the bright building of socialism, peace and progress!

I propose a toast:--To the indestructible friendship and dynamic cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hungarian People's Republic!

--To our common friendship and cooperation with the great USSR--the firm support of peace and security in Europe and the world!

--To the health of Janos Kadar, the MSZMP Central Committee first secretary respected by all of us!

--To your health, Comrade Lazar!

--To the health of all those attending this dinner!

Meeting With Zhivkov

AU131632 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Sofia, 13 Feb (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP and State Council president of Bulgaria, gave a high appraisal to the development of Bulgaro-Hungarian all-round cooperation and the relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and between the two states. Today Mr Zhivkov received the chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, Mr Gyorgy Lazar and his Bulgarian counterpart, Mr Stanko Todorov, who informed him about the results of their talks. The complete unanimity existing on all of the discussed issues was stressed. Some international issues, too, figured on the agenda of the meeting.

Zhivkov Gives Luncheon

AU131635 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, gave a luncheon today for Gyorgy Lazar, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrades Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Milko Balev; Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; and officials accompanying the leader of the Hungarian Government as well as the ambassadors of the two countries--Boncho Mitev and Jeno Sebestyen--also attended the luncheon which was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Prime Ministers' Statement

AU132055 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Sofia, 13 Feb (BTA)--Today the prime minister of Bulgaria and Hungary, Mr Stanko Todorov and Mr Gyorgy Lazar, ended here their official talks, which they assessed as very fruitful.

Immediately after the conclusion of talks they signed a memorandum--a document defining the tasks for further development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

The talks resulted also in the signing of intergovernmental trade and payments agreements for the 1981-1985 period and of a cultural and scientific cooperation plan for 1981-1985.

In the statement made for the press, Mr Stanko Todorov said that the long-term trade agreement provides for bilateral trade to reach the figure of 1,500 million rubles. "We do not think that these mark the limit of our possibilities" he added. "There are many unexhausted reserves which can be explored under the annual protocols and thus achieve a further increase in trade." He said that in this respect, a particularly important role will be played by the expansion and deepening of specialization and cooperation in mechanical engineering, in electronics, in household electric appliances and the chemical industry.

Mr Stanko Todorov and Mr Gyorgy Lazar stressed the identity of the two sides' stands on the discussed international issues.

"As members of the socialist community, we are convinced that our common striving, our common aim is the further strengthening of the unity and the cohesion of the socialist community" said Mr Lazar.

Trade Agreement Signed

LD140942 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Correspondent Julia Tardos report from Sofia]

[Text] Gyorgy Lazar's official, friendly visit to Sofia had ended with the signing of documents. The Hungarian premier left for Budapest by special train this afternoon.

Before outlining the details of the two countries' cooperation over the next 5 years, here is a brief summary of today's events. Gyorgy Lazar visited Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, at 1200. Following the cordial, comradely exchange of views, Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon in honor of the Hungarian premier and his entourage at the Boyana residence. Previously Gyorgy Lazar had visited the Sofia computer engineering plant and institute. This particular research institute and industrial complex was chosen because it has excellent relations with Hungarian institutes within the same field. Both sides consider that there is great scope for cooperation.

Byorgy Lazar said the following in connection with the talks at the brief press conference held at Boyana:

[Begin recording] We have surveyed the situation concerning the realization of the agreement on the development of bilateral relations; the implementation of these agreements is progressing successfully. It says a great deal in itself that during the past 5 years our trade has more than doubled; this exceeds not only our plans but in a sense our expectations as well. Besides this, naturally we discussed not only the past but also the present and the future and our ministers of foreign trade have signed an agreement to regulate our trading relations for a further 5 years, setting out a very considerable trade growth of more than 50 percent. [end recording]

The host Bulgarian Premier Stanko Todorov, said the following:

[Begin recording in Bulgarian with superimposed Hungarian translation] First of all, I would like to emphasize that in the course of our discussions there was an opportunity to survey very thoroughly the various aspects of our cooperation in every sphere of life. Our cooperation is developing in a dynamic spirit. In the sphere of economic, scientific and technological cooperation we devoted particular attention to the expansion of tourism between our countries, the widening of our transport relations and the development of our scientific and technological cooperation, particularly the development of joint scientific research in areas where there is scope for production specialization. [end recording]

As Gyorgy Lazar said, the trade agreement is valid for 5 years and is worth R1.5 billion. This means an increase of 53 percent as compared with the previous plan period.

As regards our deliveries, twice as many Ikarus buses will be delivered to Bulgaria as previously; we will export precision engineering equipment, semiconductors, computers, pharmaceuticals, commercial equipment, textile machinery and agricultural machinery.

Bulgaria will deliver to us electric trucks of a more modern type than hitherto, approximately 10,000 during the next 5 years, as well as loading equipment, nonferrous metals and approximately 600,000 tons of soda ash. Only specialists are aware of the significance of this: it amounts to more than half of our requirement of this important chemical.

We have had plenty of problems with delivery discipline, the supply of spare parts and engineering and technical services. The two premiers have now decided that balanced deliveries must be ensured; the agreement on automotive and crane deliveries must be signed by 15 March. The negotiations have provided an opportunity for the two sides to inform each other concerning the plans for resolving such urgent issues as the housing situation, the organization of industrial management and the functioning of the system of economic management. Speaking on these subjects, the Hungarian and Bulgarian premiers stressed that there is a need for providing each other with all-round and regular information. A detailed communique will be issued later on the negotiations between Gyorgy Lazar and Stanko Todorov.

Documents Signed, Departure

AU131652 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] The official talks between Council of Ministers Chairman Stanko Todorov and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, have ended in Sofia with the signing of a memorandum. The talks were held in a friendly atmosphere, and this visit will undoubtedly contribute towards deepening and strengthening the comprehensive cooperation between the two countries and peoples.

An agreement on trade and payments as well as cultural and scientific cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hungarian People's Republic for 1981-85 was also signed.

Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic has left Bulgaria. Comrade Stanko Todorov and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers saw Comrade Gyorgy Lazar off at the Sofia Central Railway Station.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY MOZAMBIQUE FOREIGN MINISTER

Arrival 13 Feb

AU131150 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Joaquim Alberto Chissano, member of the Permanent Political Committee of the Frelimo Central Committee, secretary of the Frelimo Central Committee on International Problems and minister of foreign affairs of Mozambique, arrived in our country on a friendly visit today.

At Sofia Airport the guest was welcomed by Petur Mladenov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria. Deputy ministers and high-ranking officials of the Bulgarian Foreign Affairs Ministry were also among those present at the airport.

Talks Begin

AU132100 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister, and Joaquim Alberto Chissano, foreign affairs minister of Mozambique, have begun talks in Sofia. The state of the relations and the possibilities for further developing these bilateral relations as well as certain topical issues of the international situation were discussed.

Comrade Petur Mladenov gave a dinner in honor of the guest. Andrey Lukanov, Milko Balev and other Bulgarian and Mozambican officials attended the dinner. During the dinner, the two ministers of foreign affairs proposed toasts.

Chissano Departure

AU141347 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Joaquim Alberto Chissano, member of the Permanent Political Committee of the Frelimo Central Committee, secretary of the Frelimo Central Committee on International Problems and minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique, left Bulgaria today.

Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, deputy ministers and high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs saw Joaquim Alberto Chissano off at Sofia Airport.

TODOROV GREETS POLAND'S JARUZELSKI ON APPOINTMENT

AU161612 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Feb 81 p 2

[Text] Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent the following message to Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defense of the Polish People's Republic [PPR]

On behalf of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf, please accept warm and comradely greetings and sincere wishes on your appointment as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR.

I am deeply convinced that the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the two countries' governments and peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and on the strong and indestructible friendship with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, will further develop successfully for the benefit of our countries' peoples, in the interest of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and in the interest of peace and socialism in the world.

In these difficult moments for the PPR, I wish you from the bottom of my heart, dear Comrade Jaruzelski, good health and success in your highly responsible activity for the defense of socialism and security of the PPR, for the benefit of the fraternal Polish people, and for further developing and strengthening the comprehensive Bulgaro-Polish cooperation.

HUSAK SPEAKS AT KLADNO DISTRICT PARTY CONFERENCE

LD141729 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Under the slogan "In Firm Unity of the CPCZ and the People--For Further Successes in Building a Developed Socialist Society," party conferences started today in 66 districts of our homeland and the districts of Prague and Bratislava. They are an important part of preparations for the 16th party congress. The importance of the 2-day deliberations is underscored by the presence of the highest party representatives at the head of delegations of the party Central Committee.

The delegation at the district party conference in Kladno is led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic. Other members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium are heading delegations at conferences: Vasil Bilak in Presov, Peter Colotka at Kosice, Karel Hoffmann at Plzen, Vaclav Hula in Most, Alois Indra in Ceska Lipa, Antonin Kapek in Prague-10 and Josef Kempny in Prague-6.

Josef Korcak is leading the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee at the district conference in Pisek, and Jozef Lenart is in Komarno.

Candidate members of the Central Committee Presidium Miloslav Hruskovic is in Senica and Milos Jakes in Benesov.

Secretaries of the Central Committee are leading delegations: Mikulas Beno in Mradec Kralove, Jan Fojtik in Liptovsky Mikulas, Josef Haman in Sokolov, Josef Havlin in Domazlice and Jindrich Polednik in Vsetin.

Marie Kabrhelova, member of the party Central Committee Secretariat, is leading the delegation in Havlickuv Brod, and Miroslav Capka, chairman of the party Central Control and Auditing Commission, is in Liberec.

Husak Speaks in Kladno

LD151104 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Report on speech given by Gustav Husak, CSSR president and CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, at a district party conference in Kladno on 14 February--portions recorded]

[Excerpts] [Begin Husak recording] Esteemed comrade delegates, esteemed friends.

Allow me first of all on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, on behalf of the delegation of the Central Committee present at your conference, as well as on my own behalf, to extend cordial greetings to the district conference of this important district of Kladno, to extend greetings to all of you, the delegates, and to wish you a successful conference and, in particular, many successes to all communists and working people of Kladno District in safeguarding the conclusions of your conference and the conclusions of the coming 16th congress.

I avail myself of this opportunity to extend my greetings also to the delegates of other district conferences which are taking place in 66 localities, in order--like you here in Kladno--to discuss the results of their work, their tasks and problems, and to set the tasks for the coming period.

If we were to sum up briefly this great deliberation of more than 1.5 million communists in our country, and there is no harm in doing so, we can say that good results have already been achieved in political and other areas. Above all, annual meetings and conferences took place in the spirit of the 18th session of the Central Committee in October last year, which mapped out the basic orientation. They voiced their full support to the party's Central Committee both regarding its past actions and the tasks ahead. This constitutes our great (?internal strength).

From all these meetings, from east to west, from north to south, we can observe one fact and that is that our party is politically and ideologically united; it stands firmly on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian and socialist internationalism; and in the principle issues it holds an identical view both regarding the assessment of the situation and the tasks ahead of us. This is surely a very important factor.

Here, at this conference, the subject has also been raised. In other quarters of our state great emphasis has been placed on mass-political work, on the work done within the framework of the national front, within trade unions and youth organizations--a comrade who spoke in the discussion before me put it very nicely when he said that mass political work among workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, women and the like is very important. This is one of the basic aspects of our work. Communists must talk to people. They must persuade them of the correctness of our policy, win them over for political and working commitments. Here lies the unity between the party and the people, a unity that grows from such a work, and this then forms the political mainstay of our socialist state system and creates the full stability of our socialist system. This is not a negligible matter. On this one has to build and from this one can proceed further.

Full support has been voiced for the policy of our party and state in regard to our international ties, to our relations with the CPSU and other fraternal parties, the international workers' and communist movement and the progressive and democratic streams in the world, to our interstate ties with the Soviet Union and other countries, as well as to the overall drive aimed at easing tensions and maintaining the peaceful life of our country. In this there is unity both within the ranks of communists and within the overwhelming majority of our population, and this is good.

The fact that our country has been living in peace for as long as 36 years is often taken for granted. Generations are now growing up which know what a war is only from history textbooks, and their knowledge of the nature of a social system based on the exploitation of man by man is similarly second-hand. It is these very international ties between our party and the Soviet party and other parties, and our interstate ties, that constitute the main guarantee of our national freedom and state independence and of the peaceful life of our people. We keep repeating this but there is never enough awareness of these issues, of the fact that our peaceful life as well as our further development is based on this. On this matter, too, a united voice from all over the country has sounded.

We have to become conscious of this matter, especially now when the reactionary circles have again unleashed a wave of feverish arms buildup, when they have again begun provoking conflicts, incidents, inflammatory campaigns, when they are creating a war atmosphere, as you see for yourself daily. This is made worse by the economic and political crisis in which the capitalist states now find themselves. They are trying, so to speak, to destabilize the socialist countries. They are waging attacks against the Soviet Union and, above all, against us and other countries. They are looking for some kind of fellow believers in our country who would help them undermine the trust of the people in the socialist system and the communist party; they provoke subversive activity wherever an opportunity arises. It is the unity of the socialist countries, our close cooperation with the Soviet Union, naturally not only in this area but also in the economic and other areas, which forms our solid base and our certainties for the future.

Of course, it will be necessary to wage a hard struggle to ensure good relations between states with different social systems, to safeguard peace and reduce tension. There is a new administration in the United States. What its policy will be like, where it will go and where it will not go, we can only guess. In any case, it will lead to aggravating the international situation, and therefore these questions must interest us. As it has been said here in the report submitted, we must know how to explain these questions. We must be able to explain them from the class viewpoint, from the progressive viewpoint, from the viewpoint of our correct positions.

In Poland we see how these reactionary forces are trying to undermine the socialist system. At annual members meetings and at conferences, questions have often been raised as to what is going on in Poland, where it will go, what kind of solutions this will entail. These are justifiable questions for after all, Poland is a fraternal and allied country. She is our neighbor with whom we are bound by political, military and economic treaties, and therefore we cannot be indifferent as to where these developments will lead.

This is not the place for me to analyze the causes and consequences of the current situation in Poland. It is sufficient to refer to the latest session of the PZPR Central Committee which said that the mistakes and shortcomings which occurred during the previous period had nurtured a wave of opposition--antisocialist and even counterrevolutionary forces--which do not intend to tackle some kinds of social problems but which are interested in destabilizing Poland as a socialist state and carrying out plans of their own.

This same session that took place recently defined the situation in the country and called on party members to conduct themselves as communists, to act as communists in factories and elsewhere. At the same time it also warned those antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces not to take actions which would lead to political and economic chaos and which would endanger, as the new Premier Jaruzelski said, the whole Polish state.

For us the important thing is that at that latest session held at the beginning of this week it was stressed that Poland is and will be a socialist state, that she will honor her obligations to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and that she will therefore fight, work and struggle in this spirit. Naturally, this is not a simple affair. After all, we experienced something similar--although one cannot always make general comparisons--during the 1968-69 period. How much chaos, how many shocks and how much economic upheaval resulted from this, and how many years did it take us to overcome it? How many people allowed themselves to be misled by the demagogy, how many honest people were among them, and how much political work did it cost us to explain things to people, but mainly to introduce a normal rhythm into the life of society, into the economy, into the living standards and the like? Our Polish comrades are also faced with such a difficult and responsible undertaking and we can merely hope that they fight against the enemies of socialism, that they persuade workers and the working people in general about the correctness of their course and maintain Poland as a socialist and friendly country in the very spirit in which they talked at their latest session, a country marching in the same rank with us, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We have particularly learned that in the communist movement, in the communist party, the question of criticism and self-criticism is one of the basic tools for forward movement. He who remains stationary thinking: I am doing everything correctly and everything else is all right, simply becomes a brake on progress. It is this criticism and self-criticism in the basic organizations and in every party forum, and listening to the critical voices of honest people outside our party, which is exceptionally important for solving problems and for moving forward. This should be a permanent method of work for communists, not only an impulsive action at the time of a conference, or on festive occasions. This has been heard--I do not want to overstate it--but, this has been widely heard at the annual plenary meetings as well as at the conference. I am convinced that your conference, as well as other district conferences in our state, will take place in this atmosphere and will become a good preparation for regional conferences and for the 16th party congress and for our whole work in the future [words indistinct].

The wide expansion of working initiative in connection with convening the congress, with the 60th anniversary of the party and with the elections, is very gratifying and I want to praise it highly. The initiative of the working people, workers, technicians, agriculture workers, and workers elsewhere, brings about not only material results but also has enormous political and moral aspects. We value this very highly.

I have read the report on socialist competition in your district. This is the case in the whole state. This is the sign of a liberated working man and of his attitude toward society, toward the national economy in which he is his own manager, as well as toward his own life.

Certainly, there are formal approaches, as the comrade has mentioned, and formal approaches should be avoided in every area but the core is good, honest contribution--politically as well as economically. We honor it highly, we praise it highly, in party members as well as in those outside the party because we have one state, one national economy, a joint living standard--and we are not building society only for the communists but for the millions of our people. This must be supported. We must add to its quality, evoke peoples' initiative, hear their views on what, who, how to do things better, more usefully, etc. Without this great initiative of the working people it would be difficult to achieve great results.

Therefore, I can sum up by saying: We can say our party is, before the 16th congress, in a state of high activity, determined to begin further tasks--as everyone has said at the end of his speech from this platform--to make even greater plans, be more militant in the struggle for the general line, that is for the state of an advanced socialist society in our country.

This year we are marking the 60th anniversary of our party and the consistent development of the revolutionary tradition in which Kladno played such an important part. It must play its part in developing these traditions and struggles in today's concrete tasks, as well as in future ones, to give them a dignified continuation.

In the 60 years of these struggles, our party went through all the revolutionary changes in our country by securing national state freedom, social justice, removing the unjust system, constructing and overall developing the economy, collectivization of land, and so on, as the recognized leading force, a responsible political force. All this was connected with our party's great struggle and this has confirmed that millions of people recognize the leading function of our party. This, of course, is connected with responsibility for us communists: responsibility for what is taking place and will happen in the future. We all are thinking about these issues during preparing for the 16th congress.

The main part of the district's work since the 15th congress has been carried out. I have heard that it is joyful, that it is a positive move forward. Such a preliminary stocktaking has been carried out at the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The overall trend forward is positive: strengthening the position of the working class and the working people in our country, strengthening our socialist system; strengthening our international relations and ties, as well as economic development and the high living standard of our people. National revenue grew by around 20 percent, industrial output and the output of the building sector by 25 percent, agriculture, in spite of two poor harvests, by about 10 percent. Living standards have increased, social security is growing, among other things. All in all, here is a positive forward trend.

If we compare this with the economic and social crisis in the advanced capitalist countries, with their millions of unemployed, with inflation, with all the upheavals, as you can read daily or hear or see on the television screens, our upward trend is very marked.

We can evaluate this overall trend in this way and I am convinced that the 16th congress will likewise appraise this period.

Naturally, there have been many problems and shortcomings and they were openly discussed at the last session of the Central Committee. We do not hide them and you too have been talking about them. But we are looking for concrete solutions, to which I shall come back later. As far as the years in front of us are concerned, the 16th congress is to determine the tasks for the next 5 years, a number of which will be carried over to the nineties, to decide about the further development of our society in constructing our advanced socialist society, about the further development of the national economy, about its goals, which--it seems--will be lower than we have been able to achieve so far.

But the speed of growth will enable us to keep up the high living standard of our people and preserve the level social security which we have succeeded in achieving. These are not small goals at this time.

About a week ago, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the federal government discussed the draft of the main directions for the socioeconomic development of Czechoslovakia for the coming 5 years. The first year is already in progress. These directives will be published probably around the end of this month, in order for the members and nonmembers of our party to evaluate them, to give their opinions on them, and in order to enable the congress to make a decision about them.

So, as in the past, we are entering the coming period with a positive program, or rather the congress will set out a positive program for developing our society and the life of people.

I would like to stress the following: It has been written and said often that during the past 5-year plan, the sixth one, considerable problems have arisen in the economic sphere and that in the next 5-year plan, the seventh one, these problems will apparently be even more difficult. When we look for their causes and when we examine them they are, so to speak, either internal or external or, as we often say, subjective and objective. True, many people prefer to hide benind the external causes or behind the objective ones, saying this does not concern me or I can shift this to another person. But, of course, these external causes do exist since they are objective causes. But what we apparently have to do is to analyze our internal and subjective causes.

Where do, briefly speaking, the external causes lie? In the more difficult international economic situation with its corresponding impact on us! It is, above all, a sharp growth in the prices of raw materials, energy, food and everything we import--and we, as a manufacturing country, are importing far too much. It is also the rapid growth of scientific and technological progress in advanced countries, which is revolutionizing production, which often increase labor productivity many times over. This is reflected in international competition which we are compelled to join when exporting. They are also the crisis aspects of the capitalist economy which makes it more difficult for us to penetrate various markets.

These tendencies are not new. They do not date from yesterday. They began to manifest themselves sharply from the mid-seventies. Already at that time the Central Committee of our party, as well as the 15th congress, reacted to them. Therefore, already at that time it was said our main weapon against these external conditions was the accelerated internal adaptation of our national economy to these new conditions. This implies the need to adapt oneself to conditions. It would be ridiculous if it snowed outside and someone wanted to stroll around in shirt-sleeves, ignoring what was going on outside. Likewise, it is ridiculous if someone in economics pretends nothing is going on, that one could work today as one worked 10 years ago when the price of oil was ridiculously low and when the possibility was even considered of closing down coal mines because oil was cheap, gas was cheap, grain was cheap and everything else was cheap. Simply, what is involved is adapting the national economy to cope with the existing, more difficult, conditions--and this both regarding the price of raw materials and scientific and technological progress. I therefore repeat, to put it in a single sentence, the issue is an accelerated adaptation of our national economy to these new conditions.

The 15th congress set out more specific ways of dealing with the problem and a great deal has been said about it also today at this conference, that is, resolving the effectiveness and quality of all work. Every reasonable man accepts this as a valid principle. But let us look at the practice of how far we have succeeded in realizing this. The issue is not that of the manufacturing sector alone for all other sectors are also involved. The 15th congress declared, furthermore, that there was a need for a quicker utilization of scientific and technological progress and of putting it into production as a law of an advanced state. Without this it cannot compare itself with others, without this it cannot compete, without this it cannot penetrate markets, and not only in the capitalist world for the socialist world also today demands production of high quality.

The requirement is to better utilize the material base and the material and human resources we possess in our country. Taking account of the size of our state we have an enormous material and technical base. True, sometimes it is obsolete, sometimes it is more up-to-date. You see it for yourself also here, around you, but nonetheless it is a large one. We have skilled workers, qualified workers, and the same applies also to the technical and other cadres.

How are we able to deploy them and utilize them? Modern plants, modern resources, unless they are working on a continuous process, are working on a rather incomplete shift system. No capitalist could afford to make use of the most modern technology only, say, in one single shift. We know how to ensure organizationally that the most modern equipment is utilized and that it brings a greater effect.

The fourth such principle established at the 15th congress was to employ strict housekeeping methods in all sectors, both the economic and noneconomic sectors--a principle which says we do not have resources to waste, we do not have resources to dissipate, we do not have the resources to indulge in unnecessary luxuries. We do have resources for developing our country, we do have resources to ensure a reasonable life for our people. But how many times has this principle been bypassed and (?avoided)? I am recalling this intentionally for although we are today returning to these matters, and surely other conferences have returned to them and we shall also return to these things at the 16th congress, we know these ideas are not new. They were formulated at the 15th congress in response to the changed external conditions, in response to the inevitability of our further progress.

We talk about the internal causes of our shortcomings. Naturally, we cannot alter the external ones. These we have to accept. The cause lies in people, at various levels, from the top down to the bottom or vice versa. This is what is called the human factor. This is the subjective factor in planning, management, responsibility and, in the end, in good or low quality work. This is that human factor which can alleviate the situation, and it is a good thing we have talked about it.

We also talk about the reserves we do have. There is not a single enterprise in this state, and if there is one I should like to see it, which can say with responsibility that it has exhausted all reserves in technology, organization, people, in saving materials and the like. There is simply not a single one, whether it is in the manufacturing industry, in the construction industry, in agriculture or elsewhere. How are we to endeavor to tap these reserves? We have to mobilize such reserves. In the capital investment sphere there lie immobilized billions and billions of korunas. We have embarked on a far too broad expansion. Not that it is not necessary but we shall not be able to cope with it all. The fact is that there are localities where a district hospital has been under construction for the past 8-9 years. With only 4 or 5 people engaged in it, or a school or something similar. No wonder completion dates are continually postponed, that the whole thing costs more and more and in the end it fails to reach the originally planned parameters. We have to narrow this base of newly started investment projects and concentrate on completing the existing ones. This is only one such example. [end recording]

Further in his speech, General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and President of the Republic Gustav Husak said a reduction of production consumption against the plan by 1 percent alone would mean 7 billion korunas of extra resources that could be used more effectively elsewhere. This value is equivalent to a considerable portion of the annual increment in the national income and is higher than the envisaged increment in imports in the current year.

Comrade Gustav Husak also recalled that in our national economy we pay in wages for every minute of time worked, as prescribed by law, more than 1.2 million korunas. If our enterprises fail to utilize the productive working hours by a mere 30 minutes a day and if it is, at the same time, paid for, then this means about 10 billion korunas has been paid out without corresponding results.

In connection with agricultural production, Comrade Husak stressed that the overall consumption of fodder grain and of other grain-based feedstuffs amounts in Czechoslovakia to 9.8 million tons a year. The saving of 1 percent alone from this annual consumption represents approximately 100,000 tons. This could save in imports approximately 300 million korunas or enough to produce an extra 27,000 tons of pork.

Comrade Gustav Husak then went on to say:

[Begin recording] Comrades. The reason I have recalled the 15th congress and the tasks that arose from it, as well as experiences since that time--sometimes good but sometimes also bad--is that we have to bring about an inevitable change in the thinking and approaches to tasks, to the realization of the adopted plans and resolutions, to making provisions and to control as well as calling to account the people who fail to fulfill their tasks. Otherwise we shall merely indulge in mutual agitation and in convincing each other that these principles are correct while life, so to speak, goes on (? as usual). This is why there must be a change.

During all those years of building socialism, despite all those positive things about which we often talk, many people have learned to act in a perfunctory manner: perfunctory thinking, perfunctory planning, perfunctory management--and in the end it seemed good enough, in the end it was always successfully negotiated, in the end it was successfully haggled over, in the end someone else paid for it, and so on. Acting in a perfunctory manner is toda, a terribly dangerous thing and is simply working against us. It works against the development of our country and must be overcome. This is why I am glad such voices could be heard at various conferences and various party meetings held previously. This naturally also applies to central bodies, to ministries, to the governments, to all production-economic units and the like. It applies to the technical sector, it applies to workers, it applies to all of us. We have to take more energetic steps to eliminate it.

The planned set of measures is one of the steps designed to overcome such attitudes. Economic pressures are also designed to make production more efficient and to ensure that due regard is paid to economies. It is essential to provide incentives and to have stricter criteria. We are not the only ones to carry out such measures for practically all socialist states have taken such steps. They are inevitable and must be put into practice with all the consistency required. This is not a question that applies to a single year or a single campaign, for what is involved is a system which will have to be improved and intensified, as well as tested and so on. The second thing is that no set of measures will resolve everything on its own and therefore the emphasis must be on greater responsibility for planned and management work. Greater emphasis must also be put on responsibility, in particular on people in higher positions.

I remember what Comrade Zapotocky said, a man who came from a working class environment, from this town and who was a revolutionary of merit. It was after the war, perhaps it was after 1948, that he went to agitate among people and it was then he advanced the idea that one cannot live in an old-fashioned way. A worker under capitalism is in a different situation from the situation he finds himself after capitalism has been destroyed. This is why it is necessary to raise this political truth, contained in this idea, today.

I would like to take advantage of his idea to apply it to the economic affairs of today: Today one cannot plan, manage and work in an old-fashioned way if we are to hold our own in these harsh and more demanding conditions. This is not a subjective wish but an objective law. The issue is not merely that of purely technical and economic tasks when we are talking about the national economy. A speaker before me put it very nicely: What is involved is a highly political task for how our country is going to develop is not merely an economic matter. The fact how our people are going to live and so on is a highly political matter. This is a highly political task and for that reason the party above all, as well as all segments of the national front, trade unions, the youth organization and the like must exercise their influence on people in this direction, to persuade them in this direction and likewise also to control and call to responsibility in this direction.

Such are the tasks in socialism: a high degree of exactingness on oneself as well as on others, and communists must serve as an example.

When we look at the long history of our party, what complicated periods it had to navigate. The reason why it succeeded was because it possessed cadres that were steeled; because it possessed steadfast communists resolved to fight, to struggle for something and to make sacrifices, although what is required today are not sacrifices but merely honest work. So communists must serve as an example and win over others.

We are faced with difficult and demanding tasks but it is within our strength to master them. We are not approaching a hopeless situation. It is within our strength to cope with them but, of course, we cannot cope with them by employing old methods. Yes, it is within our strength to tackle them successfully. It is worthwhile to wrestle with these tasks. What is at issue is nothing else but the development of our homeland, or to put it more generally, the happy life of our people. Yes, this is at stake. This is the main aim of the work of the communist party; this is what we have to strive for and this is why we have to be very realistic and sober in our attitude to these questions.

From the course of the deliberations of the works and primary organizations, conferences, including today's conference, I can discern this responsible approach of which I have been talking or rather--in order not to exaggerate--an approach more responsible than before toward the tasks facing us. And 1.5 million communists in this state do not constitute a small force, for every fourth or sixth adult man is organized in our party. No, this is not a small force unable to tackle successfully the tasks ahead. What I discern from all those meetings is the determination to tackle problems. But, of course it is also necessary to win over for these tasks millions of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and other groups. As to our cadre policy, we have to put into responsible posts politically and technically trained, responsible people of pure character who enjoy authority and who are willing and capable of discharging tasks, in keeping with the more demanding criteria, both political and specialist and character-wise. Therefore we have to adjust our cadre policy accordingly. Therefore we have to have such demanding criteria also on the cadres. Obviously the congress will have something to say about it. Whoever wants, whoever is capable, whoever can cope with these tasks and will devote himself to them, we shall be glad of. We shall value everyone who helps our cause. Whoever does not want, or whoever is unable or whoever is slapdash in his work will have to vacate the post for others. This is also connected with tackling problems. This is not meant to frighten anyone, for we are not carrying out any policy of earthquake as to the cadres or something like this, but this arises from the tasks ahead of us.

In conclusion, I would like to wish you all present here, as well as the communists and working people of Kladno District, to continue to work in this spirit. I wish you sound health, I wish you successes in your work so that you may contribute more and more to the development of our homeland and the happy life of our people. Thank you. [Applause, shouts of "Long Live the CPCZ"] [end recording]

KANIA VISIT WITH HUSAK CONFIRMS COOPERATION

Prague Meeting 15 Feb

LD151902 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, arrived today in Prague for a short friendly visit at the invitation of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ.

They held a friendly conversation at Prague Castle. In the course of the talks the leading representatives of the two fraternal parties informed each other about the situation in their countries and about the work and the main tasks of the CPCZ and the PZPR in the current period.

Also on the agenda for the talks was the present state and possibilites for further deepening the development of mutual relations and cooperation between the two parties and between Czechoslovakia and Poland. An exchange of views on some topical questions of the present international situation, the international communist and workers movement, and foreign political activities of the two states also took place.

The conversation took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere of mutual understanding and confirmed the identity of views of the two sides on all basic questions. Comrades Gustav Husak and Stanislaw Kania emphasized that the relations of firm friendship, alliance and mutually beneficial cooperation on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, fraternal friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community, and development of cooperation [soucinnost] within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA amounted to an immutable basis for policy of the two parties and states.

The two leading representatives expressed the conviction that their meeting will become a new and significant contribution to the development of mutual cooperation in the national interest of the two countries and in the interest of the course of socialism and peace.

In the evening, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania, left Prague for Warsaw.

RUDE PRAVO Assessment

LD170854 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 17 Feb 81

[From the press review]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO, in a commentary carried today under the heading "In the Interest of the Common Cause," assesses the importance of the friendly meeting between Comrades Gustav Husak and Stanislaw Kania, which took place in Prague at the invitation of the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR. It became an expression of the traditional friendship and cooperation which link the people of Czechoslovakia and Poland, the CPCZ and the PZPR.

The commentary recalls the words of Comrade Husak at the district conference in Kladno where he said that in the case of Poland we see how reactionary forces are trying to undermine the socialist system and that we are not indifferent to what is going on in this fraternal country. The extent of the antisocialist campaign shows, RUDE PRAVO says, that what is involved is not some kind of increased activity of mere small groups of reactionaries supported from abroad but that the Polish public has found itself face to face with the joined forces of both the domestic and international reaction as well as imperialism. Imperialism wants to regain positions in that country which it lost here in the revolutionary struggle during the postwar period.

The friendly meeting between Comrades Gustav Husak and Stanislaw Kania, says RUDE PRAVO, was a convincing proof of the fact that in this difficult situation the supporters of socialism in Poland have not remained alone. The international reaction to that meeting notes justifiably the support given by our side to socialist Poland and its leadership in its effort to renew socialism and to ward off the imperialist attack.

The commentary says that our support for the socialist forces of People's Poland corresponds fully with the spirit of the traditions of Czechoslovak-Polish friendship and cooperation and the vital interests of ourselves and the Polish people and the whole socialist community. Our support promotes the interests of stability, peace and security in Europe.

The friendly meeting between Comrades Gustav Husak and Stanislaw Kania has by its importance gone far beyond the framework of Czechoslovak-Polish relations. It provoked prime attention in the world. This has thus confirmed the conviction voiced by the two statesmen that the talks in Prague would become a new and important contribution to the development of mutual cooperation, in the interest of the nations of both countries and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace, stresses the commentary published in RUDE PRAVO today.

BORDER CROSSING WITH POLAND CLOSED 15 FEBRUARY

AU171236 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Feb 81 p 2

[CTK/RUDE PRAVO report in the column "By Teletype, Mail and Telephone"]

[Text] The road border crossing in Pomezni Boudy-Przelecz Okraj will be closed from 15 February to 15 April 1981. This was announced by the Federal Ministry of Interior.

SOLIDARITY DELAYS RESPONSE TO MORATORIUM APPEAL

'Count on Strikes'

LD131204 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Walesa's trade unions have not yet given a reply to Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's appeal for a 3-month strike moratorium, which would enable the government to implement its program of resolving the most pressing shortcomings in supplies to the population and of overcoming the stagnation in production.

On the contrary, the leadership of Walesa's trade unions states resolutely, after yesterday's session in Gdansk that they are continuing to count on strikes as a way by which to push through their demands.

According to REUTER, the leader, Lech Walesa, has stated that the reply to the government's appeal will depend on his organization's attitude to the demands.

Leaders of Walesa's trade unions have again clearly shown that they will deliberately delay the government's efforts to overcome tension and consolidate life in the country. Allegedly, they are not prepared to give a definite answer to the government appeal before 18 February.

In a statement issued by Walesa's trade unions yesterday after the meeting of the leadership in Gdansk, they refused to acknowledge their guilt in creating chaos in the country and are trying to hold the government responsible, as they did before.

Leaders of the counterrevolutionary KOR [Workers Self-Defense Committee] headed by Jacek Kuron announced in Warsaw yesterday that they have no intention of dissolving their organization, which has inspired and led the antisocialist forces in Walesa's trade unions. They are allegedly continuously ready to renew the struggle for their goals. The leading representative of the counterrevolutionary group KOR, Jacek Kuron, and others have been acting as advisers to Walesa's trade unions since last summer.

Rakowski Meets With Walesa

LD151456 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] Yesterday Polish Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski met Lech Walesa for the first time as the representative of the new government in Warsaw. According to REUTER, Walesa said after the meeting that he cannot promise that his trade unions will adhere to the required 90-day moratorium on strikes. The leaders of Walesa's trade unions have thus shown again that they are preparing further deliberate delays and that they do not intend to meet the endeavor of the government to normalize life in the Polish People's Republic.

SOVIET COMMANDER IN GDR ATTENDS MEETING WITH ARMY

LD162304 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1643 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Feb (ADN)--A meeting between soldiers of the Soviet Army and the National People's Army [NVA] today marked the start of the "week of brotherhood-in-arms 1981." At a guard unit of the Group of the Soviet Armed Forces in Germany [GSSD] its members cordially welcomed Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, and Army Gen Mikhail Zaytsev, commander in chief of the GSSD. The NVA deputy commander of the combined armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states, Army Gen Ivan Shavrov, as well as other generals and officers were also present.

In his address, Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann paid tribute to the traditional relations of brotherhood-in-arms between the two friendly armies. Speaking of joint responsibility for the military protection of socialism and peace, he pointed out that the aggressive imperialist forces of NATO, first and foremost those of the United States and the FRG, are poised for a new large-scale political offensive against socialism. However, their attempts to achieve military superiority by any means are a futile undertaking doomed to fail.

Army General Zaytsev reported the outstanding achievements of the Soviet people and its soldiers in building socialism. These plans for the future are the most convincing proof of the peaceful aspirations of the Soviet state. Even under conditions of the present aggravation of the international situation and the growing danger emanating from imperialism, the USSR constantly seeks new ways to safeguard peace. At the same time the CPSU ensures a high level of combat preparedness of the Soviet Armed Forces. This is particularly important for the members of the GSSD because they are directly confronted with the biggest military grouping of imperialism.

"The members of the GSSD fulfilled their tasks jointly with our class brothers and brothers-in-arms, the members of the NVA, and combined their combat training with active work for the consolidation of German-Soviet friendship," Army General Zaytsev stressed. The forthcoming "week of comradeship-in-arms" is a further contribution to strengthening the fighting alliance.

HONECKER, STOPH GREET NEW POLISH PREMIER

AU131222 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Feb 81 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of National Defense of the Polish People's Republic:

Dear Comrade Jaruzelski:

On your appointment to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, we extend to you our best congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, Council of Ministers and GDR people.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish you much success in your activity for strengthening socialism in People's Poland. Rest assured that the GDR will also in the future do all it can to deepen the inviolable friendship and close cooperation among our states and peoples in the interest of socialism and peace.

Dear Comrade Jaruzelski, please accept our sincere wishes for creative vigor, good health and personal well-being.

HONECKER VIEWS ENERGY, RAW MATERIAL, OTHER ISSUES

LD130857 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 10 Feb 81 p 11

[Part I of Yves Moreau interview with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council in Berlin in February: "GDR in the Microelectronics Age"]

[Excerpt] Berlin...February--At my request Erich Honecker began by reviewing the successes achieved by his country during the seventies. Its position among the world's 10 leading industrial powers has been considerably consolidated. The national income has reached more then $750 billion or FR3,600 billion. The material and cultural standard of living has increased.

Erich Honecker: Our economic policy and our prices policy express the people's interests. In a capitalist regime there are grounds for talking about state handouts to the big industrial trusts. In our country, thanks to the socialist state's subsidies, the prices of main consumer products remain stable. A constant increase in productivity determines the improvement of living and working conditions. This is because, ultimately, the satisfaction of the workers' growing needs depends on economic growth. Our economic and social policies go hand in hand and our decisions are based on their unity. Things which are impossible under a capitalist regime become general and common practice in our country. The means of production belong to the people and it is they who enjoy the fruits of their labor. The more socialism develops the more people see that economic results are reflected in social progress. Everybody in our country has had his share over the past decade.

Yves Moreau: Can you give some specific examples?

Erich Honecker: The housing question. Our party has taken this as its central concern and pledged to solve it as a social problem before 1990. We are indeed busy doing so. In 1980 more than 169,220 dwellings were constructed or modernized: 93,000 more than in 1971. Thus housing is one sphere in which you see how needs can be satisfied which, under a capitalist system, are merely the object of property speculation. In our country approximately two-thirds of the money devoted to housing is allocated by the state budget.

Yves Moreau: What about rent levels?

Erich Honecker: They remain low. An average rent only represents 2.7 percent of the workers' wages. However the housing problem is merely one of many examples. The social situation in the GDR shows many characteristic traits which are only conceivable under socialism. This is true of the high level of education. All children receive 10 classes of general and polytechnic education. After this, whatever their parents' financial resources, they are assured of being able to receive good professional training according to the results of their own work, and according to their aspirations and society's needs. The same is true of pupils who, after 2 further years' of education, earn the higher certificate of education and move into higher education.

In the GDR education is free as is health care.

Oil 50 Percent Cheaper Than Standard Oil's Price

Yves Moreau: Is the worsening crisis in the capitalist world and the inflation which is rife there, not having harmful effects on your economy? Especially since the GDR is relatively poor in raw materials and energy resources?

Erich Honecker: That is true, but we were quick to act upon the modifications which have taken place in the world economic situation. In this connection it is also important to realize that a large proportion of the energy and raw materials which we use comes from the Soviet Union. These important supplies were fixed a long time ago for the next 5-year plan. The deliveries are made according to the rules in force in CEMA, in other words at prices corresponding to the average prices in force over the past 5 years on the main capitalist markets. That is why in 1980 we paid around half as much for oil as the capitalist oil multinationals would have demanded for such supplies.

Nonetheless our energy and raw materials spending was increased considerably. But we are constantly trying to use socialism's advantages with ever greater efficiency by speeding up scientific and technical progress and using it as broadly as possible.

Yves Moreau: So you think that the GDR will be in a position to continue achieving economic success?

Erich Honecker: This imples higher productivity targets but your question certainly warrants an affirmative. The year 1980, with its very positive results cogently confirms this. Compared with 1979 the national income increased by 4.2 percent and industrial production by 5.5 percent. Some 94 percent of industrial growth was due to increased labor productivity.

The plan for 1980 was not only fulfilled but overfulfilled--overfulfilled by an amount equivalent to 2.5 working days. That was achieved essentially by making material savings. We are particularly pleased with this result since it is directly related to the preparation for our 10th party congress in connection with which a socialist competition movement has been launched. This is an interesting example of the link between economic progress and socialist consciousness.

Advanced Industries

Yves Moreau: What place does scientific and technical progress have in the SED's economic strategy?

Erich Honecker: This progress is central to our economic policy. The planned socialist economy is proving its great potential precisely with regards to the current extremely rapid development of the productive forces. It is this planned economy which makes it possible to concentrate society's energies on the main necessities. The fact that our party has been able to seize this chance has sparked a remarkable development of such promising industries for the future as microelectronics, computers or the development and use of robots. Clearly this speeding up of scientific and technical progress would not have been possible if the skilled workers had not received the necessary training in our schools and universities.

Yves Moreau: Science and consciousness....

Erich Honecker: And socialist consciousness, yes. Only socialism succeeds in combining scientific and technical dynamism and social justice. That is why notions such as rationalization have an entirely different meaning in our country than in a capitalist regime.

The Secret of Success

Yves Moreau: Your economic growth can, therefore, rely on the workers' initiative.

Erich Honecker: It must rely on their initiative, this initiative is vital. It is very efficacious.

Yves Moreau: What forms does it take?

Erich Honecker: It is demonstrated in many ways, chiefly through the help of the trade unions, the socialist youth organization and the engineers' and technicians' association. Trade union delegates' meetings in particular play a major role. At the beginning of each year they are called upon to ratify the plan and debate the collective agreement; they discuss wages, working conditions, improving productivity, rationalization and the quality of production and so forth. We have 8.8 million trade union members and there are more than 2 million trade union delegates--in other words more delegates than there are party members.

The secret of our successes is workers' initiative at grassroots level.

Yves Moreau: Are there ever lively discussions on wages at these delegates' meetings?

Erich Honecker: No, because wages are linked to productivity. Any increase in productivity affects wages. When a qualified worker's wife works too the household's income can appro approach a minister's salary.

Yves Moreau: What about rationalization and the job losses it involves?

Erich Honecker: Should a job become superfluous the holder is assured of being given another job equally or even better paid and the transfer is decided with his agreement.

The GDR's Black Gold

Yves Moreau: I would like to return to the complex problems posed by energy. How do you plan to solve them?

Erich Honecker: The solutions which we drew up on this subject several years ago have proved valid. Pursuing their implementation will enable us to achieve an annual growth in national income of at least 4 percent by 1990 without there being any need to increase our oil, natural gas and coal imports. In this respect the use of lignite for energy purposes plays a decisive role. Lignite as a fuel is much less important than are its many uses if turned into gas or liquefied. Lignite gives us chemical and pharmaceutical products, plastics, coke and electricity: 18,000 megawatts last year--20 times more than our nuclear power stations. Thanks to the distallation of lignite alone we will in the next few years, be able to increase our chemical production to the same level possible if 30 million [additional] tons of oil were imported.

We extract a great deal of lignite....

Yves Moreau: In France many of our coal mines have been abandoned.

Erich Honecker: We have not given in to the temptation to rely on oil alone. Quite the reverse; since the early seventies in particular we have increased the extraction and use lignite in a planned way. In view of current prices it is a very valuable energy resource now and for the future. In the next few years we will maintain the high level of extraction and will make even greater use of it.

As for other energy sources, we use them as sparingly as possible. For instance in 1980 we achieved a dynamic growth without using any more energy in our country. Of course that was only possible by concerted efforts. That brings us back to the advantage offered by a socialist economy.

FRG OFFICIALS ORDER MAPS TO REFLECT 1937 BORDERS

LD140522 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1621 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Bonn, 13 Feb (ADN)--The FRG ministers of culture [as received] have decided that the "1937 frontiers of the German Reich are to be drawn in" on all maps in school books and cartographical works in the FRG. The frontier between the GDR and the FRG is also to be identified as a "special kind of frontier."

The culture ministers are thus not only contradicting realities, but are showing that they want to keep alive revanchist ideology.

LE MONDE ON 'COOLING' OF GDR-FRG RELATIONS

LD131307 Paris LE MONDE in French 11 Feb 81 p 5

[Part II of Bernard Brigouleix article: "Tension-Proof East Germany, II--The FRG, an Intimate Enemy?"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin--"You do not need a calendar here to know that Christmas is coming: You just have to read the East German rubric in the FRG press. Every year, just before the holiday, there is an announcement that we are going to prevent the FRG citizens who are normally entitled to spend the holiday with their families from so doing. There are generally a few embarrassed corrections 3 or 4 days later and a communique from Bonn which 'refuses to confirm' the reports, to cite the usual wording. Then this story is forgotten until the following year, but the damage is done. The Panorama-GDR agency official who said that added, sadly: "This year was no exception. As always it was not true, as anybody can check."

Yes, but the fact that this rumor made its annual appearance on both sides of the border between the two Germanies for a few days can also be attributed to the East Berlin Government's announcement 2 months earlier of major financial restrictions on the movement of people between the two Germanies, and in this case the news certainly could not be attributed to the imagination (or "antisocialist fiction" as people here would tend to say) of the press in the FRG or West Berlin.

Traditionally inter-German relations tend to follow the fluctuations in East-West relations and to amplify them, although with a certain time lag. As a GDR journalist said: "When those relations are going well, exchanges between the two Germanies flourish in all respects. Following the cooling in detente it was logical that those exchanges should be affected. But it is important not to overdramatize it or talk of a complete reversal in our attitude."

In any case a definite cooling in relations between Bonn and East Berlin was expected early last fall in both the FRG and East Germany--at least there is agreement on that. Neither side was surprised that the GDR awaited the outcome of that strange custom, so foreign to the socialist system, of free elections, this time the Bundestag elections, before it decreed these restrictions and took a stronger tone in its commentaries on the FRG. Although the East Berlin leaders do not have any particular affection for Chancellor Schmidt ("45 percent support in the FRG and 95 percent here," a dissident maintained), the intention in confirming the bad impression left by the cancellation of the Schmidt-Honecker meeting at the end of August was not to give Franz Josef Strauss a new argument in his denunciation of the harmful effects and drawbacks of detente.

Once the Bavarian prime minister's defeat had been announced it was not long before East Berlin took new measures: 4 days after the elections it was announced that Westerners visiting the GDR would henceforth have to buy at least 25 East German marks per day and spend them in East Germany or deposit them on their way back across the border. This measure was particularly harsh on visitors with modest incomes since the official exchange rate for the GDR mark is overstated to say the least: In legal exchange the East German currency has exactly the same value as the FRG currency.

Two-Thirds Fewer Crossings

The effect of these new measures was marked and immediate: A two-thirds' reduction in the number of crossings by West Germans to the East was observed. That does not mean that two-thirds of the FRG citizens who usually visited their East German relatives stopped doing so, but rather that they made fewer visits. Annual statistics will show whether that was merely a temporary trend or whether the very high level which visits had previously reached--some 8 million visits per year--has indeed plummeted.

"Contrary to what has widely been said in the West," a senior East German foreign affairs official stated, "the aim of the operation was not to reduce the number of visitors. If the reduction were to last then we have probably miscalculated." Indeed all official voices in East Berlin stress the economic aspect of these measures. By virtually doubling (and for 1-day visit to the capital, quadrupling) the amount of money which must be exchanged, the authorities maintain they were above all trying to considerably increase the amount of Western currency brought in by the visitors from the West. These visitors, mainly West Germans invited by relatives living in the GDR, had scarcely any opportunities to spend money in the East. "Even at the equal exchange rate which we have fixed," the official side adds, "the West Berliners can come and dine on this side or go to a concert or a show at prices which are derisory for them. All in all they have no reason to complain."

Generally speaking the East German press has adopted a very harsh tone against the FRG throughout the fall and this winter, probably considering that the best defense is attack. For months there was scarcely any sphere which escaped in virulent criticism leveled by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND or other newspapers, not to mention the radio and television (whose audience has, of course, been considerably reduced by the success of West German programs which even SED officials are no longer secretive about watching). The frankness shown by one journalist, nonetheless very loyal to the East German regime, might seem isolated when he told us: "The FRG is undoubtedly a democracy; it is certainly not a dictatorship or a regime of oppression!"

The usual tone of official speeches was reflected more by the commentaries which recently portrayed the young demonstrators looting stores and burning automobiles to protest the eviction of squatters as the vanguard of a people's revolt, and the police's intervention as a bloody repression. It is true that West Berlin is not the FRG, people on the other side of the wall point out.

The vigilance with which the East German Government denounced any Western attack on Berlin's international status is only equaled by the persistence with which it always refers to "Berlin, capital of the GDR" with regard to East Berlin. The latter title is, moreover, completely banned from official language which does not recognize any partition of the former German capital; at most, when necessary, they mention the existence of a Western outgrowth known as West Berlin. But there is never any mention of East Berlin. Woe betide anybody on the Western side of the wall who featured a single Bundeswehr jeep in any West Berlin fireman's charity gala! The Soviets at diplomatic level and the East German press at political level would solemnly protest "this new violation of the quadripartite status" benefiting the "Bonn revanchists."

"It is important to be realistic," the East Germans constantly say. "The truth is that the GDR has existed for more than 30 years and that Berlin is its capital." Indeed despite the Western military patrols in the Eastern sector of the reich's former capital, the fiction of an East Germany regarded merely as a zone of Soviet occupation seems a thing of the past in Berlin and elsewhere.

AUTHORITIES PROTEST FRG AIRSPACE VIOLATION

LD161546 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1526 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Feb (ADN)--A single-engined FRG aircraft coming from the direction of Brochthausen last Saturday violated the airspace of the GDR in Worbis Kreis, continued its flight in a provocative manner and left the airspace of the GDR in the direction of Barbis.

The GDR permanent mission in the FRG has strongly protested to the FRG Federal Chancellor's office against the provocative violation of the GDR's airspace and voiced the expectation that the competent FRG authorities will take steps to eliminate violations of the GDR's airspace in the future.

5-DAY WORK WEEK TO BE INTRODUCED IN JULY

LD140003 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] A 5-day week is to be introduced in a number of enterprises from 1 July onwards. Ferenc Trethon, minister of labor, stated at the labor economics conference in Budapest that this applies primarily to enterprises which work in three or continuous shifts. The minister pointed out that the introduction of the 5-day week must not involve a decrease in production or earnings.

MAROTHY ATTENDS LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY CEREMONY

LD131506 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Gyorgy Rozsa report]

[Text] The wreath-laying ceremony held on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of Budapest's liberation started at 1000 sharp in front of the liberty monument on Mount Gellert with the playing of the Hungarian and then the Soviet national anthems. First, on behalf of the Budapest MSZMP Committee, Dr Laszlo Marothy, Politburo member and first secretary of the party committee, and Sandor Somogyi, Central Committee member and secretary of the party committee, paid their respects before the memorial to the heroic liberators. Then, on behalf of the Budapest Council, Zoltan Szepvolgyi, council chairman, Mrs (Jozsef Ranjnai), party committee secretary [as heard], and Lajos Kelemen, council deputy chairman, laid a wreath.

On behalf of the Soviet Embassy in Hungary, Ambassador Vladimir Yakovlevich Pavlov and his colleagues and the military council of the Soviet Southern Group of Forces temporarily stationed in Hungary, Col Gen Vladimir Ivanovich Tikhonov laid a wreath. Later wreaths were laid on behalf of the Soviet military unit bearing the name "Budapest," the Budapest armed forces and their corps, the Budapest Committee of the Patriotic People's Front, the Budapest Trade Union Council, the Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Communist Youth League, and Budapest Board of the Hungarian National Defense Association and the combatants who took part in Budapest's liberation. Afterwards representatives of the capital's workers and youth carried flowers to the base of the monument and the wreath-laying ceremony ended with the playing of the Internationale.

PUJA ARTICLE STRESSES SOVIET EMPHASIS ON DETENTE

LD161536 Budapest in English to Europe 2100 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] The February issue of SOCIAL REVIEW, the philosophical and political periodical of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, carries an article on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union by Mr Frigyes Puja, the foreign minister. [Name indistinct] reads a review of the article:

[Word indistinct] Mr Puja points out that the previous two congresses of the Soviet Communist Party were primarily centered around the adoption and the strengthening of the Soviet peace program that has often made a number of initiatives, taking in the interests of promoting political and military detente. [Words indistinct] has to struggle to strengthen peace and security and expand international cooperation, and this announcement came at the time when the process of detente began to evolve. The Hungarian foreign minister recalls that the foreign policy program as set by the Soviet Communist Party 5 years ago clearly stated that detente could only be made durable if it is supplemented by extensive disarmament measures. At the outset the Soviet Union brought up disarmament proposals at different international forums. These proposals were the continuation of the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic arms, the signing of the SALT II agreement, the limitation of the production and experiments carried out on nuclear weapons, and the activation of the talks on a reduction of troops and arms in central Europe. Mr Puja reviews what has been achieved from the last congress of the Soviet Communist Party 5 years ago.

He states that as a result of long diplomatic endeavors the SALT II was finally signed in 1979, although it still has not been ratified by the United States Senate. As part of the Vienna talks on a reduction of troops and arms in central Europe, the socialist countries have put forward a number of compromise proposals that have taken into account the standpoints of the major countries, but so far no substantial responses have been received.

The Hungarian foreign minister also recalls that by the end of the 1970's the imperialist powers endeavored to upset the balance of forces by gaining military superiority, and renewing their foreign policy based on force. What happened after this was in 1979 the United States and NATO set up a record high military development program, and a year later the United States decided to go ahead with the deployment of the so-called American Eurorockets and their centers.

The new American presidential decree that was adopted last year actually meant the acceptance of the conceivability of what was before considered only a limited nuclear war. At the same time, within American foreign policy, the trend of limiting the process of detente gained the upper hand. Under such conditions the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace, security and the strengthening of detente becomes far more complex and difficult. The international situation naturally is extensively influenced by relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. And Mr Puja emphasizes in this article that despite the endeavors made by the Soviet Union, relations between the two countries have deteriorated in recent years. The Carter administration's zig-zag policy considerably damaged mutual confidence. However, the Hungarian foreign minister considers it encouraging, that despite the deterioration in Soviet-American relations, and the American campaign waged against the process of detente, the contact with the countries of Western Europe has especially developed. [Word indistinct] with France and Federal Germany. This is illustrated by examples of the joint interests shared by the Soviet Union and Western Europe. It has been the basis for the meetings between the Soviet president and the leaders of France and Federal Germany last year.

In his article the Hungarian foreign minister also discusses regional problems which the Soviet Union considers to be important foreign policy tasks. With regard to a regional issue, Mr Puja discusses the situation in Southeast Asia. He recalls that in the view of the Soviet Union the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China would considerably promote the strengthening of peace and security in Asia. The Soviet Government has put forward several proposals, but Beijing has never responded positively. On the contrary, China unilaterally broke off the friendship and mutual assistance agreement between the two countries. Concluding his article, the Hungarian Foreign Minister Mr Frigyes Puja underlines that the congress of the Soviet Communist Party at the end of the month will be held under far more disadvantageous international conditions than the previous congress 5 years ago. But despite this, as in the past, it is quite certain that the foreign policy of the Soviet party will continue to be concentrated on the strengthening of peace, security and disarmament.

VERESS DEPARTS FOR LIBYAN COMMITTEE SESSION

LD151520 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress has left for Libya to attend the session of the Hungarian-Libyan intergovernmental mixed committee.

We have had considerable economic relations with Libya for the past 2 decades. There has been a Hungarian trade mission in Tripoli since 1967. The economic cooperation committee was founded in 1974. Hungarian-Libyan trade has doubled in the past 5 years; last year it exceeded $50 million. At present 280 Hungarian specialists are working in Libya, mainly in health services. There are 120 Libyan railroad specialists and physicians being trained in our country.

KANIA VISIT WITH HUSAK IN PRAGUE REPORTED

For a report and assessment of Kania's visit with Husak in Prague on 15 February, see page D 8 of the Czechoslovakia section in today's Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT.

JARUZELSKI, MINISTERS HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE 13 FEB

LD13'556 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] A press conference held by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at the offices of the Council of Ministers concluded 10 minutes ago. Questions asked by a large group of journalists from all over the country were also answered by Deputy Premiers Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Henryk Kisiel and Mieczyslaw Rakowski; Minister of Justice Jerzy Bafia; Minister of Agriculture Jerzy Wojtecki; and secretary of the team of economic reform Prof Wladyslaw Baka. The majority of the questions concerned economic issues and the government representatives spoke about the program for economic stability now under preparation. It is the government's intention to follow the policy of dialogue and accord with trade unions. It was stressed that the way out of the crisis is to increase social productivity.

Broad contacts with the press have been announced which will serve to fully inform the community about the government's work. The willingness was expressed to continue developing contacts with the Episcopate.

Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski repeated his appeal to the community for calm and for 3 months of hard work, indispensable for the restoration of order and calm in the country. A report from the press conference will be broadcast in the next newscast.

Jaruzelski Answers Questions

LD132008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1825 GMT 13 Feb 81

["Extensive excerpts" on press conference in hall of the headquarters of the Council of Ministers on 13 February attended by Polish Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski; Deputy Premiers Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Henryk Kisiel, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski; Jerzy Wojtecki, minister of agriculture; Jerzy Bafia, minister of justice; Prof Wladyslaw Baka, secretary of the Commission for Economic Reform; and Jozef Barecki, government press spokesman--with portions recorded]

[Begin recording] [Text] [Barecki] Dear colleagues, I open our weekly press conference. Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, premier of the Polish Government, is participating in today's conference. We sincerely greet him among us. [applause] The meeting with journalists is the premier's first public meeting following his accession to this responsible post. Please, go ahead. What questions are there?

[Question] Mr Premier, Your team has already been given the name of the government of national salvation. Will not this hugely loaded term tie your hands a bit in future decisions which, the public may feel, are not very popular?

Another question, if I may. At the Sejm you said that the young generation ought to be given a chance, that one ought to make use of its initiatives, open up the ways along which it may advance professionally, which is naturally connected with coresponsibility for the fate of the country, coparticipation in political life. What concrete decisions are to follow your statement? Thank you.

[Jaruzelski] The first question is very important. Let me say frankly that it is not easy to give a reply, a direct answer, to it. The word salvation is a big word. However, the situation making it possible to use such words does happen to be very serious indeed. However, it would not be proper for the government and its premier to wish to arrogate to themselves the role of saviours. I believe that our nation, conscious of the situation, and our society, which has experienced so much, and the force that leads this nation, the PZPR, following its eighth plenum, are fully aware and completely determined to overcome the dangerous crisis that now exists in our country.

In our capacity as government we wish to serve this cause to the best of our abilities. If our efforts are crowned with success, we will think we have discharged our duty toward the nation. The subject matter is a very extensive one. I think that detailed questions later on can deal with various undertakings and initiatives by the government which will lead in this direction.

The second question: Youth. It so happens that due to my basic profession I have had and have many many contacts with young people and I try to understand them. I do not wish to use wornout words here, like: Young people are the nation's future. However, it is very true. We are convinced that the current generation of young people which is now going through a certain period of deep concern, a period of various emotions, will be found in the first rank of builders of socialist Poland. It is our duty to do all we can to channel young people's energies and vitality so they may be put to the best uses.

There are, without doubt, many issues of a consumer, social nature, many difficult and irritating issues, affecting not just young people but all of society. We understand that one of the government's most important tasks is to do all we can to make the conditions of life of young people and their developmental prospects materially secure. This is also a duty in which young people should take part, in their actions and work, to create the conditions and material base which in future will serve today's young people, as an older generation.

[Question] In yesterday's (?expose) by Comrade Premier Jaruzelski there was the following statement: Against the background of the present situation we shall jointly carry out the actualization of the signed social agreements. I would like to ask: Which problems are seen by Comrade Premier Jaruzelski as being particularly important regarding the actualization of these social agreements of which, among others, Comrade Premier Jagielski, is a signatory?

[Unidentified speaker] There are many of these problems that occupy the top place [words indistinct].

[Jaruzelski] By signing the agreements, and the signatory of one of them, of the main agreement, is here--Comrade Deputy Premier Jagielski--the government, the authorities, assumed, basing themselves on the statement made by representatives of the strike committees, that after the signing of the agreements there would take place an enlivening in our economic life, that the results of the strike stoppages would be liquidated, removed; that by making use of the new, better atmosphere we would be able to achieve good production results and build on them to speed up the solution of many painful social problems.

It is with this in mind that the dates of the implementation of the defined obligations were stated. But, as is known, it was not possible to live up to these expectations.

The past six months have been months of economic regression, months of a serious lowering of productivity, of a decrease in production.

To this must be added the very poor results obtained in agriculture. The second half of the year underlined this very much.

Thus, all in all, the material base for the implementation of the agreements has been very considerably reduced. But despite this, as is known, the government is trying to carry out, to implement, the agreements in this sector, although this is proceeding with difficulty, although this is not always backed up, and cannot be backed up, by the volume of goods offered for sale, and because the government cannot find the supplies.

Thus, there are a few problems resulting from this which will have to be given priority, which will enable us to realistically cope with the obligations which were bilaterally, and I underline bilaterally, undertaken.

[Unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct] of social policy would be revised, though referring to what Comrade Premier has just said, we have had a drop in production during January in comparison to last year of more than Z23 billion. This is just [words indistinct]. But as regards the production of basic raw and other materials, including fuel and power, there is the problem of the program of housing construction for the whole of the 1981-85 5-year plan.

In one of the agreements there is the provision for shortening the period of waiting for accommodation down to 5 years.

The implementation of this undertaking will call for accurately analyzing all the conditions guaranteeing, or imperative for, the implementation of at least this point. [end recording]

[Announcer] The next question dealt with the division of duties within the government Presidium. Premier Jaruzelski replied that decisions had been made precisely in this matter both during today's session of the government Presidium and then also during the session of the Council of Ministers. Thus the premier, while retaining the portfolio of minister of defense, will be directly in charge of the foreign policy of the state, its security, and will also have an interest in the dispensation of justice, religious policy and statistics.

Premier Jaruzelski stressed at this juncture that statistics are a weapon, as it were, of the highest order. Independent and genuine statistics are important; we fully realize the role of statistics and we want statistics to be over and above ministry level in order that such statistics might make it possible to make strategic decisions on the assumption that they are fully objective, he said.

Mieczyslaw Jagielski, first deputy premier, will directly deputize for the premier in his duties. He will also be the coordinator for the whole sphere of economic matters. He will also be the head of the Committee for Economic Affairs. Deputy Premier Jagielski will give a wider answer on this subject. The deputy premier will be responsible for foreign trade, finance, and economic relations with other countries.

Deputy Premier Andrzej Jedynak will coordinate the activities of economic and industrial ministries. He will also deal with transportation, communications and the construction industry.

Deputy Premier Stanislaw Mach will deal with the sphere of domestic trade and also labor, wages, the municipal economy and the housing construction industry.

Deputy Premier Ozdowski will be responsible for the health service, social welfare and also local industry, sport and tourism. Deputy Premier Ozdowski heads the Council for Family Affairs.

Deputy Premier Mieczslaw Rakowski--here Premier Jaruzelski, introducing the deputy premier to the assembled newsmen, said that this was no doubt pleasing to the journalists--will deal with the whole sphere of matters connected with the activities of the trade unions. He will head the committee of the Council of Ministers responsible for cooperation with the trade unions. He will also be responsible for science, education and culture. He will also be directly cooperating with the press and with the mass media in general.

Deputy Premier Malinowski will be in charge of agriculture, agricultural products processing, the food industry and the whole complex of food industry matters, and also the timber and forestry industry.

Premier Jaruzelski added that Jerzy Wojtecki, the new minister of agriculture, had also joined the government Presidium. The latter, together with Deputy Premier Malinowski, would be dealing with the very important and complicated sphere of activity in our country--the foodstuffs economy.

The next question was about the broad matter of economic reform and also changes in the management structures. Here is what the premier said on this subject:

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] It was today that I set definite tasks regarding this matter at the session of the government. We understand that the economic reform and carrying it out constitute an operation which is great, long-term and strategic in our economy. Please pardon this terminology, but it is stronger than I. Notwithstanding work requiring a longer time and requiring very fundamental solutions applying to the whole system, we want partial solutions to proceed and be implemented in parallel with this work, solutions which will constitute elements of the reform viewed as a whole but which already today would create a kind of bridgehead for those full solutions. Included among these are making enterprises more independent. We want this process to be developed as quickly as possible and despite the fact that this process still does not have a fully developed legal foundation and despite the fact that it has not crystallized, we are counting on the fact that its kind of spontaneous development will yield us much valuable experience which it will be possible to use when this system is finally being crystallized.

We would like to see in the second half of the year, from the start of the second half of the year, this system starting to function as fully as possible. This does not depend solely on us but depends on how these processes proceed from the bottom upward.

The second thing is the matter of structure. Today, too, I see the task that ministers, without waiting for the final shape of the reform and without waiting for further work that must be done, should examine the possibilities of reducing, of flattening out the structures for managing the economy because there exist certain economic branches, and I shall not mention them here, in which the multitier arrangement is too great. No in-depth studies are needed to be able to say already today that certain changes can be carried out here. These changes will be carried out and I think that we shall be able to gain a lot of good experience along this path. Of course, a full reconstruction--one affecting the whole system--can only take place after the whole economic reform is introduced. In rural areas this will be a longer process. Perhaps Professor Baka (?will now be able to help you).

[Baka] I would like to take this opportunity to draw attention to something which has been very strongly emphasized during the work on the reform and in discussions: The reform can only succeed if we have good substantive solutions, and, above all, if we have political support, a political will to carry out changes. I think that the premier's speech yesterday authorizes me, as the spokesman for the reform to state that the will of this kind has already been voiced and expressed. Since I took part in a session of the Council of Ministers today, I would like to say that concrete instructions and undertakings outlined by the chairman of the Council of Ministers pointed to, or point to, consistent progress along the path of implementing the reform. [end recording]

[Announcer] Now Deputy Premier Jagielski replies to a question about the role and powers of the newly established committee for economic issues attached to the Council of Ministers.

[Begin recording] [Jagielski] As for the economic committee, I would say the need to set it up arises from the general need to improve the system of managing and supervising the national economy and its individual fields. In the broadest outline, stressed in the expose of the chairman of Council of Ministers, the goal set for the committee boils down to the following: What is at stake is to prepare such actions, to ensure such implementation of these actions and undertakings as would ideally result in economic stabilization, lead, step-by-step, toward economic equilibrium in the country and toward further consolidating it, so that individual fields of the national economy can work in step with each other.

So, one can now say something about the most important directions of activities of the committee, such as coordination of all actions and undertakings, above all those of various branches of the economy, with the purpose which I have just outlined; control of the efficiency of projects being embarked on, as well as decisions; preparation of certain draft decisions which, in particular, bear, I would say, an inter-industrial nature; close cooperation within the framework of the division in the government Presidium which pertains to the functioning of basic industries in the implementation of annual and multiannual [as heard] plans, as well as within the framework of powers, powers delegated by the chairman of the Council of Ministers or by the Council of Ministers; and making such operational decisions as may be made within the framework of these powers.

In any case, this body cannot function independently of the Council of Ministers, nor can it replace the government Presidium. It will be an organ of the Council of Ministers and the government Presidium. I would like to say that it must closely cooperate with the Planning Commission, at least in such areas as investment policy, in particular where the implementation of the investment plan is concerned or the management systems. It seems to me that it will be possible to say much more on this subject and to be more concrete about it at the next meeting, when we have already worked out the detailed areas to be worked on, individual tasks, powers and methods of action.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that during the final formulation of goals, tasks, means and methods of action we should here make use of a whole number of recently made very valuable proposals from scientific workers and also from those experienced economic and state activists who worked in various organizational forms many years ago and not so many years ago. [end recording]

[Announcer] The next question was posed by Julian Bartosz of GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Wroclaw.

[Begin recording] [Bartosz] In connection with the drafts of the economic reform, fears are being expressed in letters to our editors about how the issue of full employment (?for) unemployment will look. This is one of the fundamental principles of the system in People's Poland and, I think, opinion should be calmed about how the government and comrade general see this issue.

The second question concerns the difficulties in the talks with the trade unions, and in this connection the question is: Within what period should one expect the trade union law to go before the Sejm?

[Jaruzelski] Perhaps I will begin again. However, my colleagues will answer this question more competently and professionally. Indeed, one of the system's principles is the guarantee of full employment--nota bene. One can say by the way here that the enormous development, the enormous investment leap which took place in Poland in the past decade, regardless of all its defects which we know well, was to an important degree prompted by the need to employ the several million young people, who, because of the so-called peak, were then entering production age.

The current economic situation is considerably more difficult. Known perturbations are occurring and they are being made more profound because of the situation we are in at present. The immense irregularity of the rhythm of work of our economy, of our industry, is causing industrial coproduction links to be broken. Some plants have to stop working because others are not working and in fact, probably in the capialist economy, under the capitalist system, such plants would close down, [words indistinct] but this is against the nature of our system of government. As is known, we are doing everything and will continue to do so, to guarantee full employment. For that reason, it is envisaged that all vital measures will be taken to make possible the harmonious transfer of employees to other branches of the economy in cases where given plants or a given construction site were to be curtailed or shut. In any case, this is already being implemented in part.

Who would like to supplement this answer? Perhaps Comrade Kisiel?

[Kisiel] I spoke on this topic during our meeting. I said that the decisive issue for increasing the national income is to increase social labor productivity. The plan which existed in the past 2 years, in connection with the drop in the national income, was linked with a parallel drop in social labor productivity. In this connection, resolution 118, which we call an installment of the reform or the minireform, already introduces elements which in some way must have a bearing on employment in plants and the average level of wages being linked with net production--with net production being an element of the increase in the national income.

[Word indistinct] in our circumstances, as Premier Jaruzelski said a moment ago, it is out of the question that we should maintain unemployment. This is contrary to the fundamental principles of our system and contrary, I would say, to the Constitution. In this connection, a Council of Ministers' resolution is being worked out at the moment which states the way--an organized and planned way--in which there will be the necessity to transfer a part of the workforce to those sectors of the national economy which are today neglected in this respect.

It is known that in the service sphere, in the small-scale production sphere and particularly, and let us say this openly, in agriculture--which has been squeezed dry over many years of the most energetic, most professionally active part of our society, the young generation, because not many young people stayed on the land--we will create the conditions for this kind of transfer. In the nature of these 1.1 million dual-careerists. whom I have mentioned here before, and the more than 400,000 people with 5-hectare farms, as well as in the sphere of various sectors of small-scale production and crafts, with the help of loans, training courses, and grants--and this must be emphasized: training grants--we will aim at carrying out this operation, which in my opinion is essential, because with this pressure of the buying power emerging from employment and the current pay level, we must seek an increase in the supply of market goods, particularly of food and services in order to mobilize buying power.

I don't think there is any fear of unemployment. There is the matter of sensible, organized transfer, possibly often with better results in meeting the creative ambitions of those people, to sectors where they will perhaps feel better than at present, where they are not always fully exploited and where a correspondingly bad atmosphere in the work place is introduced.

I think that here, in this company, there is no point in hiding the fact that we have a slightly social approach to employment. This social approach must be maintained today where it is justified. On the other hand, the basis [word indistinct] of our future way out of the difficulties is an increase in social labor productivity and without that there is no chance of counting on a way out of the economic crisis.

[Words indistinct] will reply to the second question.

[Unidentified speaker] The final work on the trade union bill was presented by the premier in his expose yesterday as an urgent task for completion by the end of the present six months. The date is orientational [as heard] and it is also obligatory on representatives of the government. I think that all other participants in the social commission set up by the Council of State will also take it as such--as a kind of a leading thought for speeding up this work.

On this occasion I would like to say that after some initial consultations which brought in observations from various ministries, the economy, and state organizations in general, as well as the legislative council, there was to have taken a meeting which would finalize the theses for discussion, but this meeting 1 week ago did not take place due to the urgent tasks which in connection with the situation, particularly, it seems, the strike situation, were faced by representatives of the National Consultative Commission, who took some sort of active participation in the consultations.

The last observation on this matter: It seems to me that it is very important that this bill, which is of such a character that it goes deeply into certain legal-political systems and deals with the new concept of trade unions, the problems of strikes, should be created in such a spirit that it can be presented to public opinion and so that it will be received by public opinion as a bill for everybody, that is, so that conditions can be created for treating the bill as social property.

It seems to me that the work on the theses, which will rapidly be transformed into a draft bill, gives such a guarantee. [end recording]

[Announcer] Once again, the premier, Wojciech Jaruzelski, returned to the problem of economic reform which, I may add, occupied a large part of today's press conference.

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] Generally, I am very happy that there are so many questions reaching out into the prospects of implementing the economic reform. This means that the journalists present here are optimists, that they are demanding that we emerge from the crisis and that we now calmly implement the long-range plans of the economic reform.

Undoubtedly, one should think like that, always looking ahead, and we favor such an approach but I think that now the main problem, and I am saying this in all seriousness, is to stabilize the situation--meaning the return to a normal rhythm of work and production. One cannot build anything on quicksand. Even the best provisions of the reform, the most valuable of its directions, cannot be introduced, cannot be implemented if the departure point has not been properly shaped for their implementation. It is this that must be borne in mind all the time.

The tasks of the reform, the process of work on the reform, should have a from-the-top and from-the-bottom character and this should constitute its great strength and value. We should see to it, and the journalists should help us in this, that this movement from the bottom in particular, of initiative and of support, is as wide and as rich as possible.

This is a great chance for activization and initiative, and we are counting on them a great deal.

[Question] [Words indistinct] Yesterday's decision in Gdansk by the National Consultative Commission [KKP] and the communique which was given in the last news bulletin create, to put it carefully, certain reflections. In addition, among foreign journalists a report has spread that the chairman of the commission is on his way to Warsaw.

Can the premier express his view on this?

[Jaruzelski] A meeting might take place, at some kind of level. [end recording]

[Announcer] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski replied to this question.

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] I, too, have read the decision and I, too, had certain reflections, conclusions. I am still mentally working on these reflections but I would like to say that this is an interesting stand. Among other things, it contains a formulation in which the authors of the document declare that they are ready to do battle for the rights which, in their opinion, are being violated.

Regarding the government, the government is not aiming for a battle but at understanding, and has repeatedly been [speaker interrupted] [unidentified speaker] And dialogue [Rakowski] And dialogue and this was recently repeated. Also, the chairman of the Council of Ministers stated this yesterday in the Sejm. Thus we still believe that there exists the possibility and the chance for an agreement and dialogue.

The document is, as is known, quite long and it contains many formulations. We shall study this document very carefully. Anyway, I would like to say that a great number of documents are arriving at present.

Regarding whether Lech Walesa is on the way to Warsaw, I can say that we do not check who is boarding a train and who is buying a ticket to Warsaw.

[Unidentified speaker] But tomorrow there is a session of the commission on the bill on trade unions....

[Rakowski] Lech Walesa will participate in the session.

[Question] I would like to put a question to you, Mr Premier. Mr Premier, what, in your opinion, are the most important actions the government can take to make our state and statehood stronger?

My other question is about the methods by which you will ensure that all members of the government fulfill their duties in connection with all the matters pertaining to the agreements that have been concluded and in connection with government directives.

[Jaruzelski] Maybe this time we may [words indistinct] and my colleagues can help me here, while I will just provide additional explanations.

As I have said, we had a government session today. I think that in a sense we tried to provide answers to these questions ourselves.

[Unidentified speaker] Maybe I will briefly recall, or just make a few remarks in connection with the session of the Council of Ministers today when Comrade Premier Jaruzelski outlined the general way in which the government will work. I have even put down in my notebook this formulation: Let us act fast, on target and spectacularly, and according to the need. Further, the government ought to anticipate the development of events and foresee what may happen. I think that this will be our [word indistinct]. At the same time I would like to say, since we are here among journalists, that--and I was very pleased about this--Comrade Premier Jaruzelski lays great emphasis on informing the press about all that the government may be doing today, about all that it may intend to do, so that the press benefits from a wide stream of information and so that public opinion is really informed about government activities.

I think we will have a substantial and interesting change in this field here. Generally speaking, Comrade Premier Jaruzelski stated that the implementation of agreements, the issue of economic reform, operational and consistent utilization, simply, of all the sources of information on which the government is adopting a decision. [sentence as heard] This is how, in brief, I would say the government's activities over the next period, in the sense of method of work, will look.

[New unidentified speaker] After all, the questions are closely linked with each of the... the strengthening of the state and the implementation of agreements. Only a strong state and efficiently functioning authorities are capable of guaranteeing the implementation of the social contract, of safeguarding the proper development of socialist democracy. Democracy cannot develop in anarchy, that much is obvious. It can develop without healthy structures of a state which recognizes democracy as being one of the foundations of its own functioning. That is why this is how we understand the government's work: On the one hand we want to gain understanding and confidence in the policies pursued by people's authorities. Among other things, it is this that we wish our meetings to serve, since it is through representatives of the press that we wish to maintain the closest possible, authentic and sincere contract with our society. On the basis of society's understanding and trust we wish to strengthen all those elements that make up the strength of the socialist state and its government.

On the other hand, the state must be able to exercise all its constitutional powers and be concerned for the observance of law and order so that it may function in accordance with the regulations and norms which define the principles of the system in force in our country.

The linking up of these two elements, I would say pillars--understanding and trust on the part of the public and, on the other hand, fulfillment by the authorities and the government of their constitutional tasks, the government having a mandate from the public all within the framework of a socialist system--does, it seems to me, provide an answer to this question and constitutes the fundamental guarantee for the implementation of the agreements. Should any disruptions take place along these two lines--and unfortunately we are still at a stage of certain lack of stability--then the issue of agreements also becomes suspended somewhere in a vacuum, despite the fact that those who fight for their implementation and think the agreements are the most important issues may have the best possible intentions.

[Question] I have a question which I would like to ask you in person, Comrade Premier. When you took on your new post, you were of course aware of the great difficulties the country finds itself in. It really is the case, as one of our journalist friends has said here, that the idea of a government of national salvation is circulating in the consciousness of many Poles.

But I would like to ask something else. How do you personally see the trump cards? What trump cards can you see in your hands which will make it possible to lead the country in this difficult situation?

[Jaruzelski] This again is a very broad subject and I fear that in the time which we have available it will be difficult to answer in a manner which might be satisfactory. I think that everyone [word indistinct] the difficult task--and this is a difficult task--should answer in his conscience if and what elements exist which make it possible to undertake this task and to count on it being successfully fulfilled. I belong to that profession which fulfills tasks and thinks that this is a matter which does not need to be discussed.

I think that the trump card is the faith in the good sense and patriotism of our nation--I am counting on this, above all, we are counting on this, above all--which has such great history but a history which at the same time is dramatic and difficult and of a nation which, as you know well, if one takes an unemotional, fair and objective view, must assess and prize all the achievements of People's Poland and all the values of socialism.

We are, of course, not building in an abstract manner. We are building in a concrete country which has a concrete, 36-year-old path in socialism. The point is that the conviction should get through more fully to people that we must perfect and improve this socialism, but that the foundation from which we shall carry out this task is a solid foundation and that the people that People's Poland has shaped are the most valued assets who will make it possible to cope with this task I think that it is precisely this conviction that is the most important thing.

Second, we of course have sufficiently strong instruments--not in the sense of force, please don't associate this with my uniform or with other appendages of this type--we have enough strength in our organism which is represented by the socialist state, its political factors, above all the party and its structure of authority, which genuinely wants to implement the spirit of renewal and which wants to go along the path of socialist democracy. In this sense of the word it [presumably the party] must make contact more and more fully and broadly with the public and regain its understanding and trust. I am also counting on this. This is what the government pledges to do.

Our meeting today--I wanted to leave these words to the end--is, and I want it to be like this--a portent of such an approach by the government to contacts with the public, to a dialogue with the public. [end recording]

Views on Episcopate, Rationing

LD140026 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The number one event of today has been the first press conference given by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

[Unidentified speaker] The government formula on (?economic) [word indistinct] provides for an expansion of the social base. What activities can you see in this sphere, Premier? The second matter concerns an assessment of the relations between the government and the Episcopate and the prospects for these relations at least in the near future.

[Jaruzelski] A government of salvation, as this formula [word indistinct] on more than one occasion [words indistinct] stress that we view it as our duty as a government to genuinely fulfill our task while being aware of the fact that this is connected (?closely) with a very difficult and downright dramatic situation in our country. I will do everything in our power to prevent an extreme course of events. But I think that the intentions and designs concerning a way out of the crisis we are all agreed. All the basic social forces in our country, including those represented by the Episcopate, are interested in finding a way out of this situation as quickly as possible, in regaining equilibrium and in starting to work for the future. I think that I have thereby also answered the second question concerning the relations between the government and the Episcopate. I said in yesterday's statement that we think that these relations are shaping up successfully and we would like them to continue to develop in this direction. The government, for its part, will make every effort to promote this.

[Unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct] on a subject which is very mundane. Comrade Jagielski spoke about the fact that the system of introducing controls must be [word indistinct]. A few days ago we broadcast a program lasting 1 hour about the meat coupon system in which all interested trade unions, ministries and so on took part. The response is tremendous [words indistinct]. Solidarity is for it, the ministry is for it, the public is for it and there is complete [word indistinct] in the matter.

[Jaruzelski] Yes, a decision should be taken next week.

[Different speaker] [Words indistinct] how the government plans to deal with this matter [words indistinct].

[Jaruzelski] I think that it is not a normal matter [words indistinct]. I do not have, of course, [word indistinct] data to be able to talk this matter through exhaustively, but we really are greatly interested in stopping this. This is not good, this is not necessary. Quite frankly, this is very sad and [words indistinct] and address them to the other side. However, [word indistinct] is necessary and vital. I promise that we shall deal with this, that we shall try to show the maximum good will, but on the other hand please understand that there are certain canons governing the upbringing and education of young people in our system which have to be preserved.

To wind up, I much appreciate the opportunity for such a meeting. As I have already said I am somewhat (?ill at ease) in the circumstances of this forum, to which I am not accustomed. This is why I shall try to improve when we meet next and I thereby declare (?for) these subsequent contacts, I make the ardent appeal that you support the call made yesterday from the Sejm tribune about 90 calm and industrious days. They are necessary to Poland, necessary to socialism. Without this calm we shall be unable to build the plans about which so much was said here today, we shall be unable to implement the program we were asked about but we shall enter such a state of chaos in which further management through methods which we have accepted as being the main ones and which we are consistently adhering to will be made very difficult. [end recording]

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENDS JARUZELSKI AT PRESS CONFERENCE

LD141458 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Feb (PAP)--Reiterating Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski's press conference statement yesterday that "nothing can be built on quicksand", TRYBUNA LUDU today gave the following comment:

"The fact that the new prime minister held his first meeting in office with journalists is very important. It was not merely a courtesy gesture to the press but an expression of his resolute will to conduct--through the mass media--a constant dialogue with the society, a permament debate between the Polish people of the issues of immediate concern to them. In order for such a debate to be successful, it must take place between well-informed partners, who understand each others' ideas and intentions.

"The two-way flow of reliable and true information should on one hand, help the government to tune its policy and take optimum decisions and, on the other, let the society understand the government's intentions.

"The government wants to move fast and and accurately--spectacularly if necessary. The government is able to act this way because it has certain trump cards in hand: the patriotism and common sense of the nation and the power inherent in the organism of a socialist state, which wants the party to lead it along the path of renewal," concluded TRYBUNA LUDU.

TU'S RESPOND TO JARUZELSKI APPEAL FOR CALM

Miners on Moratorium

LD132348 Warsaw PAP in English 2005 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Feb (PAP)--A plenary session of the main borad of the Miners' Trade Union took place in Katowice today. The plenum adopted a resolution which said, among other things:

"We support in full Prime Minister Wojciench Jaruzelski's Sejm statement containing the programme for the nearest future. We are convinced that it is a programme which will lead our country out of chaos and onto the path of economic equilibrium."

"We answer 'yes' to the prime minister's appeal for 90 peaceful days for the government to sort out the most urgent economic problems and begin the implementation of the economic reform. We deeply believe that now, in a situation when the government is so staunchly for continuing the process of socialist renewal, for a broad social dialogue and for strengthening the system of consultation with the nation, peace will prevail not only during the next three months, but all the next months and years as well."

Wroclaw MPK Workers' Answer

LD141206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Report by Wroclaw correspondent Tadeusz Laczynski]

[Text] After an all-night debate the strike commission of NSZZ Solidarity of the Municipal Transportation Enterprise [MPK] in Wroclaw issued today a communique, which says in part:

Owing to changes in the Government of the Polish People's Republic and in particular the appointment of Wojciech Jaruzelski, Sejm deputy from the lower Silesia constituency, to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers, the commission resolves to abide by the appeal of the National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity for suspending strike action all over the country by responding in all solemnity to the appeal of the Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski for 90 calm days. We promise to stop all strikes and other forms of protest on the condition that there will be no government actions aimed against NSZZ Solidarity. The strike commission will become works commission of the NSZZ Solidarity at MPK Wroclaw beginning 14 February.

In connection with this, the Presidium of the Interfactory Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity in Wroclaw adopted a resolution on cancelling the strike alert in the region.

Lodz MKZ Views Proposal

LD161704 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] The Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of NSZZ Solidarity of the Lodz region has taken a stand on the fundamental problems tackled in the premier's statement. Here is the MKZ statement:

The MKZ Presidium for the Lodz region looks on the appeal addressed by the premier of the Government of the Polish People's Republic for 90 calm, hard-working days as a declaration by the government that this period will be devoted to implementing the obligations emerging from the social agreements and decisions accepted in negotiations with our union bodies. We think that in this period there will be real social discussion of the bills which have a key significance for our union and the whole of society, for example the law on trade unions, the law on censorship, the press law, the amendment of the labor law, and the others. We think that the right of farmers to band together in trade unions on the principles defined in ILO Convention No 141, which Poland voted for in ILO forum, will be recognized. We think that this will be a period in which the government will carry on a real, determined fight against corruption. We think that in this period there will be national discussion of the draft economic reform, both the government draft and drafts which have been made on social initiative.

We state that the protest actions in our regions were a result solely of the breaking of the social agreements or their obstruction. We will be grateful to the government if, in the period not only of those 90 days, but in a much longer period, we do not have a reason to undertake strike action.

The above statement was drawn up at today's session of the Presidium of the MKZ NSZZ Solidarity of the Lodz region.

RZESZOW FARMERS GROUP TAKES LETTER TO JARUZELSKI

LD141254 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] At the session of the strike committee held in the headquarters of the former voivodship Council of Trade Unions in Rzeszow, a letter was addressed to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, in which the committee presented its views on the problems of agriculture and the feeding of the nation. A delegation of the striking farmers carrying the letter has left to see the premier.

TALKS WITH FARMERS RESUME IN RZESZOW; WALESA ATTENDS

LD161916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Talks between the government commission headed by Deputy Minister of Agriculture Andrzej Kacala and representatives of farmers and the NSZZ Solidarity have been resumed in Rzeszow today, after an interval of 10 days. The talks deal with demands pertaining to various agricultural matters and problems affecting the rural community. The talks are attended by the chairman of the National Consultative Commission of the Solidarity union, Lech Walesa.

REPORTAGE ON STUDENT STRIKES, TALKS WITH GOVERNMENT

Report on Lodz Negotiations

LD140134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] The student sit-in strike is continuing at four Lodz higher education establishments. The extended negotiations between the interministerial commission led by Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology Prof Janusz Gorski and the Interuniversity Consultative Commission have focused on issues concerning the teaching process, the participation of students in university organs and general, social demands of a political nature.

Full agreement has been reached on many issues, while a protocol outlining differences of opinion has been drawn up on six issues of a political nature with the aim of continuing the talks in a calm atmosphere.

In a meeting with Minister Janusz Gorski yesterday, rectors expressed great anxiety over the situation in many higher education establishments and the hope that the joint efforts (?aimed) at reaching agreement would be quickly crowned with success.

Lodz Negotiations Continue

LD141833 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Excerpt] The student sit-in strike is continuing at four Lodz higher educational establishments. [Words indistinct] issues concerning the development of student self-government; the organization and content of the teaching-upbringing process, and also state material aid for students, full agreement has been reached. Agreement has also been reached on 9 of the 15 issues put forward concerning political issues. On the six remaining issues, a protocol has been drawn up concerning divergences of opinion, with the aim of carrying on further talks in a calm atmosphere.

Temporary Break in Talks

LD151928 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] As our Lodz correspondent reports, negotiations resumed this afternoon in Lodz between the interministerial commission led by Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology Janusz Gorski, and the Interuniversity Consultative Commission. The minister proposed the signing of an agreement in the agreed form and the writing of an annex on the matters still not cleared up, which concerns a statute for an independent association [zrzeszenie] of students. The Interuniversity Consultative Commission, representing the Lodz higher education establishments, did not define its position, attributing this to a lack of consultation with the All-Poland Founding Committee of the Independent Association of Students and with the National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity.

In the face of this, Minister Janusz Gorski broke off the talks and proposed that students come to Warsaw tomorrow to conclude the talks and reach an agreement.

Support for Government

LD152356 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] The University Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] at the Medical Academy in Warsaw has published a communique in which we read: In the light of current information from Lodz, distinct progress in the talks and a mutual will for their rapid conclusion may be observed. We believe that the restoration of strike action at this moment is needless and harmful. Responding to the premier's appeal for a 90-day period of calm, we believe that our task is to (?promote) the economic and social stabilization of the country, which is a condition of the implementation of all agreements. In this connection the SZSP University Council has decided to revoke the strike alert [words indistinct].

The students of the Silesian Polytechnic, members of the SZSP, have also called off the strike alert at that university. We are thus expressing, we read in their statement, a vote of confidence in the government.

Criticism of Commission

LD161045 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] A session of the Interuniversity Consultative Commission in Lodz continued into last night.

The Lodz board of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] expresses profound anxiety at the behavior of the Interuniversity Consultative Commission, which prevented the signing of an agreement yesterday. As Minister Janusz Gorski has already initialed all demands of the students and pledged that they would be implemented, Lodz SZSP states, a continuation of the strike is groundless. It appeals to all students of Lodz, and Poland to start action aimed at a resumption of normal studying and stabilization of life at higher educational establishments.

Comment on Striking Students

LD161732 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Excerpt] Here are a few comments from our editorial team in connection with the very difficult talks which have now been going on for nearly 3 weeks in Lodz. We cannot comprehend why the Interuniversity Consultative Commission [MKP] is so subservient to the National Founding Committee of the Independent Association of Students [NZS]. The talks, after all, were started by the MKP, which in the course of these long and difficult talks has managed to negotiate many justified demands. The students who strike and occupy the university departments are not all members of the NZS. Was it really so difficult to sign the agreement on the issues which were already agreed upon? The changes in the statute and registration of the NZS could then have been discussed in a calm climate.

On the other hand, the following comment comes to mind. The ministry commission has been acquainting itself with the statute of the NZS since 16 January. It is strange, therefore, that one day before the agreement was due to be signed some points of the statute were questioned: these were very important points dealing with compliance of the statute with the Constitution and the right to strike.

Zielona Gora Strike Alert

LD170955 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Excerpts] A strike alert continues at the Zielona Gora higher teachers' training institute. The students support those sociopolitical demands of the Lodz students which are in accordance with the country's Constitution and the registration of the Independent Association of Students. Normal teaching work is taking place today at the school. A meeting was held at 1100 which decided by a majority vote to continue lectures.

If the Lodz demands are not signed, a referendum will be held and the students will decide on further actions.

Wroclaw Backs Lodz Students

LD161744 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] A student rally took place at the Wroclaw Technical University today. The meeting passed a resolution in which the students align themselves with the students striking in Lodz.

The participants in the rally demand the immediate signing of an agreement which would give satisfaction to all university students and fuller information on developments in the Lodz strike. This refers, among other things, to the statement made on the national television program by a representative of the Interuniversity Consultative Commission.

The students of Wroclaw Technical University have informed us about a warning solidarity strike which will start tomorrow at 0700 in the main building of the Technical University and will end at 2100. We have also been asked to pass on word that entrance to the school's main building will be possible tomorrow only for bearers of a valid employee or student identity card.

Minister Releases Agreement

LD161910 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Two hours ago the meeting between Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology Prof Janusz Gorski and journalists ended. The minister made available the text of the agreement between the interministerial commission and the Interuniversity Consultative Committee prepared for signing in Lodz yesterday.

Agreement has been reached on all questions pertaining directly to problems affecting students and their setting. Among other things, the full concept concerning the election of university authorities in conformity with the content of the agreement will be introduced to the act on higher education.

In the course of the meeting the minister said that the chances that the new act will come into force during the coming academic year are weak. In accordance with the contents of the agreement prepared for signing, the minister accepts and guarantees the independence of the establishments of higher learning in matters of science, teaching and interorganizational affairs.

So far, no agreement has been reached on changes in the statute of the independent students association proposed by the ministry. The amendment suggests an entry in the statute of the association to the effect that it will operate in accordance with the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and regulations dealing with the proclamation of a strike.

In conformity with the contents of the statute submitted for registration, a strike can be proclaimed by an independent students association university committee without consulting all students.

It emerges from information that we have obtained that the strike by Lodz students continues.

At 1900 a press conference of the All-Poland Founding Committee of the Independent Association of Students started at Warsaw University. The press conference deals with amendments to the statutes of the association suggested by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology.

Call To End Strike

LD162036 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] As already reported, it was expected that an agreement would be signed yesterday between the minister of higher education, Professor Gorski, and the Interuniversity Consultative Commission [MKP]. However, there has been no signing and a strike alert has been proclaimed in more universities.

Here are some excerpts from a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP]:

In the course of hard and long negotiations conducted in Lodz between the MKP and the interministerial commission, a final version of the agreement had been worked out according to which the government representatives have accepted all the students' demands for implementation, and have also worked out a common stand in relation to the demands of a general political nature. In this way the basic aim of the strike has been achieved. The agreement reached would secure a genuine democratization of universities.

But there is concern over the fact that the issue of agreeing on the final form of the statute of the Independent Association of Students [NZS] by the NZS National Founding Committee and the ministry has obscured the primary aims of the strike and the contents of the agreements already reached.

Since we regard the agreements so far achieved as realistic and binding for appropriate departments throughout the country, we call for early talks between the student representatives and academic authorities in individual universities for the purpose of achieving an efficient definition of ways of putting into practice in given communities the agreements negotiated in Lodz, and of looking into other problems affecting the communities.

While giving our support to Premier Jaruzelski's call for bringing about the public calm which is so greatly needed in our country, and guided by the importance of normalization processes initiated by several communities, we appeal once more to all colleagues to apply the greatest possible amount of reason to the steps they take, and for immediately abandoning strike actions, which inevitably lead to an escalation of tension among our community and which worsen the nationwide atmosphere of agreement and constructive approach.

Here is a telex sent by the Lodz board of the SZSP. It reads: It is our view that MKP must not abuse the students' trust or manipulate their sense of dignity and human emotions, and must not serve as a tool for promoting particularist interests. In our view the undertaking given by Minister Gorski to put into practice the students demands makes the continuation of the strike unnecessary.

Krakow Students Strike

LD171134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Feb 81

[Text] A student sit-in strike to express support for the striking students in Lodz has continued since yesterday at Krakow's two largest colleges: the Jagiellonian University and the Mining and Metallurgical Academy. The main buildings of both colleges are occupied. There are no lectures taking place. About 1,700 students are taking part in the strike at the university and about 1,000 at the Mining and Metallurgical Academy.

The strike committees have stated that the strike will continue until the signing of an agreement with the Interuniversity Strike Committee in Lodz and the sending of its text to Krakow. The strikes at both colleges are taking place in a calm atmosphere.

A moment ago we received a report that an extraordinary session of the Jagiellonian University Senate has been called for 1800 today.

The students' strike in Lodz is still continuing.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY INTERVIEWS TRADE UNION OFFICIALS

LD162216 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Today's ZYCIE WARSZAWY carries interviews with Karol Modzelewski, press spokesman for Solidarity, and Stanislaw Cieniuch, executive secretary of the Consultative Commission of the Industrial Trade Unions. Here is a brief account of these interviews:

Karol Modzelewski said in part that the appointment of the new government and principles of its policy formulated by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski had created a real chance of reversing the dangerous course of enents. In Modzelewski's view the change has resulted in a real strengthening of the government; weak authority is dangerous for the country and cannot find credibility among the community.

As for Solidarity, the union is not a second power, but would like to be regarded as a recognized and respected social partner because this is the only way to overcome the crisis. Karol Modelewski described as highly unsatisfactory the state of implementation of the August agreements. He said that the implementation of social and economic demands could be discussed or postponed, but there were agreements whose implementation would not cost a single zloty.

Referring here to the issue of Solidarity's access to the mass information media, its spokesman said that indications were that the government was opening up. Karol Modzelewski accused television of failing to carry out the requirements to agree on reports about the contents of resolutions adopted by the National Consultative Commission with its press spokesman. On Thursday, for instance, the television news reported a drastically cut version that was not agreed on.

The Solidarity spokesman said that such instances could do considerable harm to the restoration of trust between the public and authorities.

Referring to the premier's appeal for 90 days of calm effort, the union spokesman stressed that Solidarity treated it with full seriousness. The premier's statements showed that the determination was discernible on both sides to liquidate, by way of mutual contacts, all points at issue. Clearly, this did not mean that Poland would be a strike-free country; the point was that there should be no danger to the country, to authority, as well as to Solidarity, and that we should succeed in avoiding confrontation and create common conditions for emerging from the crisis.

Here is an account of the other interview in ZYCIE WARSAWY. Stanislaw Cieniuch, from the consultative commission of industrial trade unions, said that the official view of Premier Jaruzelski's speech would be stated by the industrial trade unions after discussion next Thursday. However, it was possible to say now that the clear and up-to-date form of presentation evoked considerable interest.

However, he said that the fundamental condition for the stabilization of life lies in the authorities regaining public trust. The administration alone would not be able to take the country out of its crisis. In many cases the working people must take responsibility into their own hands. Many trade unionists have demanded the restoration of the practices of the former 1956 workers councils act.

The industrial trade unions have taken a positive view of the initiative to form a committee for cooperation with trade unions, and feel sure that the intolerable tendency toward the cabinet solving problems in closed sessions with trade union leaders will be abandoned.

Referring to the information media, Stanislaw Cieniuch stressed that the manipulation of moods should be avoided; it is not possible to create a magical faith in what the new government or even Premier Jaruzelski can do. Stanislaw Cieniuch said that recent days had been reminiscent, especially in television, of the time of propaganda of success. For the government it could turn out to be a bad turn.

Reviewing the state of implementation of the August agreements, Stanislaw Cieniuch said that as a result of arguments over status and also of a kind of inter-union war, many important matters have not been dealt with. Referring to the premier's appeal for days of calm effort, Cieniuch said that calm must not be mistaken for the abandonment of just demands, nor for passivity and docility of trade unions in relations with authorities. Naturally, we need a much longer period of normal work and activitiy, he said.

PAP Report on Interviews

LD160315 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 16 Feb 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Feb (PAP)--ZYCIE WARSZAWY today interviewed Solidarity spokesman Karol Modzelewski and the branch trade unions consultative commission's Executive Secretary Stanislaw Cieniuch about the importance of the recent government changes for Poland's stability. Mr Modzelewski said:

"It seems that the changes signify that the government has grown considerably stronger in our power system. One might say that Solidarity has caused a state of dual power in the country, but I am convinced this is untrue.

"The truth is that we are facing a power crisis; to date, our authorities have not managed to conduct a consistent policy, suited to the changed social reality. Beating about the bush, unsuccessful attempts to put the trade unions before accomplished facts, have done nothing to strengthen the leadership's position, on the contrary--they made its position weaker, with social fever running high. We do not want the leadership to be weak, first of all because it is a danger to the country and secondly, because such a leadership cannot be a credible partner for the society in fulfilling the social contracts. Neither is Solidarity a second authority. What we want to be is a recognized and respected social partner. This is the only [way] out of the crisis."

Asked if the Solidarity is able to give the government 90 days without strikes, Mr. Modzelewski replied: "The union treats the prime minister's appeal completely seriously. Our resolution of February 12 mentions the necessary conditions for social peace. The prime minister's speech has let us believe that this peace will be kept."

Stanislaw Cieniuch, the executive secretary of the Branch Trade Unions' Consultative Commission told the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY that important documents and decisions should allow for not only the opinions by experts or activists but all members of the unions. "One also must avoid any manipulation of the moods. For example the mass media must not create a magic faith in the possibilities commanded by the new government or the premier himself. In particular the recent days are becoming reminiscent, notably in television, of the success propaganda vintage. This may do a disservice to the government. The premier can carry through this programme only when he finds understanding and support in the whole society. But what is meant under this is not a passive applause.

"We not only need 90 days of peace, but a much longer prospect of normal work and action. Peace cannot be tantamount to giving up legitimate demands, nor to passiveness or submissiveness of the unions to the authority."

WALESA MEETS WITH DEPUTY PREMIER RAKOWSKI 14 FEB

LD142018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who among other things is responsible for cooperation with the trade unions, today met in Warsaw with Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity.

KKP CRITICIZES AUTHORITIES, UNAUTHORIZED STRIKES

LD131440 Warsaw PAP Maritime Service in Polish 1200 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] At its Gdansk meeting the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity adopted a resolution criticizing the work of the authorities up to now on implementing social agreements. The resolution sharply criticizes the steps taken by the authorities which, according to Solidarity, increase social tension in the country, and in particular the government decision on strike period pay and the announcement of repressions against KOR [Workers' Social Self-Defense Committee] activists and propaganda attacks against Solidarity. The KKP at the same time expressed its disapproval of uncoordinated and hastily decided local strikes, which constitute a danger for social peace and for the union's unity. The KKP appealed to all interfactory founding committees to coordinate all strike decisions with the KKP, which has decided to disown publicly all actions not coordinated with the commission.

VOLUNTARY WORK ON WORK-FREE SATURDAY REPORTED

LD142226 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Feb (PAP)--Saturday 14 February, a day which according to law was a work-free day, was, as far as numerous collectives were concerned, a day of normal work.

Enterprises of continuous production were at work. Many collectives were making up for the non-working Saturdays in January. In many cases production was started voluntarily to catch up with the backlogs. This action, with regard to the additional production on this non-working Saturday, has spread to numerous enterprises in all branches of the economy and in all voivodships.

RADIO LISTENERS' LETTERS OPPOSING SOLIDARITY NOTED

LD151436 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0605 GMT 15 Feb 81

["Wavelength '81" program]

[Text] Marian Marianowicz from Warsaw has sent a letter to Polish radio and despite the fact that there are many such letters, this one somehow elucidates the problem, and thus is worth quoting in part: Why has one-half of our community been condemned for deeds perpetuated by Solidarity? If they wish to fight--if this is the appropriate word--then let them fight on their own behalf and not on behalf of the remainder of the community which does not wish to fight. No one has asked them to claim on behalf of those not involved, or on behalf of other trade unions, that Solidarity fights for you and so forth.

In the conclusion of the letter we read: Strikes have overtaken dialogue--strikes for anything, strikes for the arrival of a government delegation, and so forth. But it seems to me that strikes are nothing other than ways to let off steam by issuing demands but giving nothing in exchange--in other words, it is better to strike than to work.

Why have we quoted excerpts from a letter whose author signed his name and does not wish to remain anonymous? Because we often give space in our program to Solidarity activists. They often speak without being challenged and since this is so, contrary arguments should also be heard.

If we are to serve the community even better, then we should present various views and opinions, even those which are not exclusively Polish views. For example, the West German newspaper, RUHR-NACHRICHTEN, wrote at the beginning of February: It is more and more evident that Solidarity, which not for nothing bears that name, is no longer speaking with one voice. Personal disputes and differences of opinion on trends are becoming more and more evident. One should know various outlooks and viewpoints in order to arrive at one's own view and own assessment of events taking place in the country.

There have been strikes where issues of great importance were at stake. However, there is now a strike in Warsaw by the majority of students at the Medical Academy where in fact nothing is in dispute. The authorities of the academy are conducting talks with students on all topics and there is no evidence that the talks should be supported by strike actions. True enough, a small minority of students carry on their courses but their views should also be remembered.

One should listen carefully to what people in the center of Warsaw are saying about the strike. They say different things. It may be worthwhile to reach for hundreds of letters received by Polish radio on the current situation in the country. A worker from a furniture factory in Jarocin writes about the anguish she has to undergo every day on her way back from work. Different shops are being closed as a sign of solidarity with this or that. The tree of hope has been turned into the tree of bitterness, she concludes. Letters from women have been symptomatic; they worry about their families and children because, as they write: We do not know what will happen tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. At work conflicts are being created and everything is being done except work.

These are bitter letters, but these also have to be accepted. There are also letters which say that there is no point in bringing up subjects like the hole in the roof of a factory, or [word indistinct] and toilet because trade unions are busy with larger issues and reject such petty matters. Who is going to help people on these issues?

Let us remember the voice of people who say that renewal cannot mean disorder and laziness. One cannot treat with contempt all those things which concern everyday existence.

RAKOWSKI RECEIVES BRANCH UNION ACTING CHAIRMAN

LD162232 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Feb (PAP)--Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski today met with Eugeniusz Mielnicki, the acting chairman of the coordinating commission of the branch trade unions. The commission's chairman, Albin Szyszka, is currently undergoing treatment in a sanatorium.

RADIO, TV CHAIRMAN MEETS AUTONOMOUS TU OFFICIALS

LD162312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Today, the chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, Zdzislaw Balicki, met a working group of the interim cooperation committee of the autonomous trade unions. The topic of the meeting was information on the activity of those unions, their participation in suggesting topics for radio and television programs and their participation in discussion programs on important social issues.

GDANSK PZPR ACTIVISTS URGE TU-GOVERNMENT GOOD WILL

LD121507 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 29 Jan 81 p 1

[Text of a resolution adopted at a Gdansk Voivodship PZPR worker activists' meeting in Gdansk on 28 January: "Appeal to Authorities and Trade Unions"]

[Text] We, PZPR members and representatives of the Gdansk coast working class who belong to NSZZ Solidarity and the craft unions, appeal to the government, the NSZZ Solidarity leadership and the craft unions to:

--Immediately start talks on cutting working hours;

--engage in talks about all matters essentially important for the country's existence, especially matters concerning the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. We ask that as much information as possible on the progress of these talks be given by the mass media. We believe that both reluctance to engage in talks and lack of information about their progress and about the attitude adopted by all parties participating in them have contributed to an increase in social tension and to the spread of gossip and anxiety. This represents a source of a considerable threat to the implementation of agreements between society and the government and to the democratization of life in the country which, after all, everybody claims to desire.

--Refrain from any strike action until negotiations between trade unions and the government are concluded since social tension, which inevitably accompanies strikes, makes it more difficult to engage in factual talks. Both the government and the trade union movement are only learning the difficult art of negotiation. Both sides are responsible for the poor results of talks so far. It should be acknowledged, however, that there were instances when both sides showed good will and a desire for the continuation of the talks. The government, for instance, showed flexibility by allowing the workers to make up for work-free Saturdays--on 10 and 24 January 1981--at some later date and the trade unions showed similar flexibility, among other things, by submitting proposals about reducing working hours. We expect further proofs of a willingness to compromise from both sides--the government and the trade union movement.

We, workers of enterprises in which the August protest originated and in which an area of understanding was created, take the view that any desire for confrontation over matters which can be the subject of quiet and factual, albeit firm, talks creates anxiety and distrust among the community with respect to the intentions of the parties participating in the conflict. Immeasurable losses are incurred when honest and reliable workers who realize the need for hard work in order to rapidly extricate the country from any economic crisis are confronted with the following dilemma: Should they preserve or violate trade union solidarity in a situation where their duties as citizens clash with their duties as trade unionists?

We were and are a subject of the socialist renewal process. Therefore, we have the right to expect and demand from our representatives among the trade union leadership and our country's government that, with the working people's interests and the country's welfare in mind, they should meet in order to transform their generally acknowledged common aims and intentions into a joint program for the implementation of a social contract.

We appeal to the representatives of the government and the trade union movement to engage in negotiations!

Let us again show, as we did in August, that we Poles are able to come to an understanding among ourselves!

JARUZELSKI, COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEET 16 FEBRUARY

LD170333 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 17 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Feb (PAP)--As reported by the government press spokesman, the Council of Ministers held a meeting today presided over by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski. It concentrated on organizational matters and carried out the allocation of competence and tasks connected with the implementation of the 10-point programme set out in the premier's Sejm expose.

The government wishes to act swiftly, decisively and in a manner which will ensure the broadest possible social approval for the effects of its actions designed to lead the country out from the present crisis. Hence the emphasis laid by Premier Jaruzelski on the necessity to ensure the fullest possible information on all government's actions. It is also necessary to respond quickly and effectively to socially justified criticism and to inform public opinion on concrete decisions taken with a view to removing phenomena of wrong doing and their origins.

There is need and necessity to ensure speedy and more specific reply to proposals and suggestions of the Sejm committee. it is also necessary to tighten and strengthen cooperation with the Sejm as the supreme sovereign organ of state authority.

Premier Jaruzelski drew particular attention to the role of the broadly conceived social opinion, an essential factor in creating a climate of confidence and credibility of the authorities and the shaping of proper relations between the citizens and the state and economic administration at all levels.

The Council of Ministers is now faced with a number of new concrete tasks. Execution of these tasks is conditional on a new style of work to which the premier has pledged both his cabinet, the central and local authorities and, in particular, the voivodas and presidents of towns directly subordinated to the premier. The point is to get rid of a superfluous bureaucratic ballast, quickly and effectively remove obstacles resulting from ineptness, organizational paralysis and muddle hampering normal work of offices and economic units.

The government will efficiently react to the finding and proposals of the Supreme Chamber of Control and the prosecutor's organs to remove quickly and decidedly manifestations of negligence, disorder and wasteful economy. Rigorous disciplinary action will be taken against persons who because of negligence and idleness cause losses to the country.

Of particular importance is the issue of economic reform. The government is interested in a lively and thorough public discussion on the provisions of the reform. It is important, already now, before legislative solutions are made, to encourage formation of workers' self-governments in works enterprises. The point is, as the premier emphasized, to make workers' collectives act as real co-managers of enterprises and factories sharing responsibility for the choice of direction in developing production which, naturally, will have a bearing on wages. Experience that accumulates will be helpful in shaping the most appropriate model of the workers' self-government and will elevate the role of the trade unions.

The government also favours the taking, already now, of steps toward perfecting organizational structures, above all limiting whenever applicable of multi-tier management structures. But these undertakings cannot give rise to anxiety among the crews and personnel. On the contrary, they should be adopted with active participation of the workforce and contribute to the elaboration of the best possible organizational and social solutions.

The Council of Ministers will strive toward the maximum degree of coordination between ministries ensuring growing self-reliance of ministers and their responsibility for tasks allocated to their respective ministries. It has been established that the Council of Ministers will meet every two weeks and the government Praesidium will hold meetings approximately once a week, depending on the needs. Moreover, the prime minister will hold regular monthly meetings with voivodes and presidents of voivodship towns.

RAKOWSKI COMMENTS ON JARUZELSKI APPOINTMENT

LD152246 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Interview with Poland's deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, by correspondent Endre Aczel; questions and answers in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation; recorded--time and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Rakowski, when you briefed Hungarian television viewers recently on events in Poland, you were the editor in chief of the weekly POLITYKA. Now you are deputy premier, having been appointed hardly 24 hours ago. Allow me to put a few questions to you. First of all I would like to ask you about the new government. Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski declared in the Sejm that he is a soldier and will remain a soldier in the future as well. I think that in our countries it is not an every-day event for the minister of defense to take over as head of government. I would therefore like to ask your opinion of this, of the significance of this personnel decision?

[Answer] First of all it is of course true that General Jaruzelski was a soldier and is still so today. But at the same time it is also true that he is an outstanding personality in our party who is well-known in this respect also throughout the country. We--I am here thinking about the members of the Central Committee who proposed Jaruzelski as premier--do not only see in him a soldier but also a politician. Naturally, the personal qualities and experience of the new head of government, which he gained in the organization of army life--at least we believe so, this is how the leadership of the party considers it--can be utilized in civilian life, in leading the government. It is clear to Hungarian television viewers, who undoubtedly follow events in Poland, that elements who wish to create confusion and chaos in Poland continue to function--there is chaos in industry, in the life of the state. There can be no doubt that a man who has such outstanding experience in the organization of a well-functioning military machine will be a premier able to assist the party and society a great deal in the civilian sphere of life. Preliminary comments from various parts of the country reaching Warsaw allow the unequivocal conclusion that the Sejm's decision to charge General Jaruzelski with the leadership of the government has been very well received.

It is of course also significant that the uniform is respected in Poland. The army enjoys great esteem and General Jaruzelski himself enjoys recognition by Polish society.

These trump cards will have a favorable influence on events in Poland.

[Question] General Jaruzelski said in the Sejm that this government will be a government of [word indistinct] concord, socialist democracy, economic stability and will fight against anomalies. It has been said in other quarters that the state has its strength pitted against the forces and processes inciting to counterrevolution. Is it possible, in this respect, to use the concept of a struggle along two fronts?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, yes. I know you have a lot of experience in this field. We repeat continually--and Premier Jaruzelski spoke of this in the Sejm--that the party wants to implement consistently the process of revival, wants to implement consistently the agreements made in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. The party will not deviate from the line nor will the government. But to be able to implement this line, action and steadfast resistance must be taken against those who in essence wish to deviate from this path, those involved in activities which do not mold into the program of socialist revival. This is simply unavoidable.

This does not mean that here in Poland we wish to (?organize) a witch-hunt, a manhunt. Not at all. It means that socialism has certain principles which we wish to defend. But in order to alienate ourselves from earlier practice society needs calm. Otherwise we cannot implement our program.

[Question] What sort of practical measures arise from the fact that there cannot be two powers existing within one state? General Jaruzelski emphasized this in the Sejm as well.

[Answer] In practice this means that we wish to strengthen our own power--the power of people. This power is embodied in the Sejm, in government. There is no other power organ apart from them. If there are organizations in Poland which endeavor to play the role of a second power, a power center, these must be eliminated. There can be but one master per household.

[Question] Allow me to put to you a question about the mutual dependence of the democratic political revival and economic factors. I have heard it said in the Sejm that in order to restore market balance, social balance must first be restored. Is this connection dialectical? Is it possible to express the relation of political and economic factors in this way?

[Answer] This relationship is the most direct, most organic possible. Regrettably one section of my countrymen believes that while it is holding a strike, is continually attending meetings and holding debates, production work will continue of itself. This is of course impossible. Political calm, a return of normal thinking, is necessary and there is no question of keeping quiet, of silence, for production once again to return to its normal pace in the people's economy. These two are interdependent. Were it possible to separate them we would be less anxious but it is not possible as there is a direct relationship between the political and economic factors.

[Question] In your opinion, does Poland have a chance of emerging from the economic crisis?

[Answer] This is a fundamental question. First of all we must, at all costs. Second, how long will it take? Even if the current government succeeds in restoring social calm, if there is a turn toward restoring the normal pace of work, years will be needed to defeat the economic crisis. Even given the most favorable circumstances one cannot count on a sudden improvement to [word indistinct] in Poland. Rather, we are taking into account a deterioration in living conditions in Poland in forthcoming years but if calm is not restored fortuitously then the deterioration of the economic situation will strike like lightening.

[Question] My last question. How many years, in your opinion, will it take to attain a normal situation?

[Answer] As far as a normal situation is concerned, we would like to talk about this today if possible. However, as far as an improvement in the economic situation is concerned, our economists have differing opinions. Some believe that it will take 3 years to attain the threshold toward a noticeable improvement while others talk of 5 years. For its part, the government is preparing a statement about the state of the people's economy. This statement will be a supplement to the economic reform plan. It will set on record the real situation of the Polish economy as well as summarize the opportunities for improving the situation.

TRADE UNIONS, ENTERPRISES CONGRATULATE JARUZELSKI

Gdansk Shipyard MKZ

LD131456 Warsaw PAP Maritime Service in Polish 1200 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] On behalf of the shipyard's workforce, the NSZZ Solidarity founding committee at the northern shipyard in Gdansk has sent a congratulatory message to Premier Jaruzelski. The message expresses confidence to the new premier as well as hopes and wishes that the government under his leadership will open a wider dialogue with the society, that a frank assessment of the December and Radom events will be carried out, and that administrative bodies will be purged of all dishonest and irresponsible elements.

Czestochowa MKZ Greetings

LD151330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] From Czestochowa we have received a copy of a telex message sent to chairman of the Council of Ministers, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski: NSZZ Solidarity and the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] Czestochowa congratulate Wojciech Jaruzelski on his appointment to the post of premier and at the same time express the conviction that the government will undertake consistent actions to take the country out of its difficult situation (?by means of) implementing the social agreements signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie.

Czestochowa MKZ declares it will do its best so that during the next 3 months there will be an atmosphere of calm, creative work and the activation of social and economic work undisturbed by strikes, which is so necessary for our common good.

At the same time, Czestochowa MKZ asks Solidarity activists in other regions of the country to support with their authority all the justified steps taken by the government of the Polish Peoples' republic, led by its premier, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Support From TU's, Enterprises

LD152310 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Feb (PAP)--Congratulations and words of support for Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the government programme he presented in the Sejm are coming in from all over the country. Here are excerpts from a few of the messages:

"In connection with your taking over the post of prime minister, the crew of the Jastrzebie coal mine wishes hereby to congratulate you warmly. We have set definite hopes on your nomination. In connection with your speech delivered in the Sejm, Solidarity members in the mine have decided to express their support for your programme by voluntarily working on Saturdays for a period of three months. Our crew has appealed to miners in the other mines to support our initiative."

The plant union council in the Mazowiecka refinery and petro-chemical plant in Plock sent the prime minister their cordial congratulations. The message said: "We hope that your taking over this distinguished post will help to improve the social climate, to introduce determined and nationally-beneficial government moves. On our part, we want to assure you, Mr Prime Minister, that our professional and social attitude will be a manifestation of our full support for yourself and the Polish Government."

A message sent in from the Gdansk shipyard said that the yard accepted Wojciech Jaruzelski's appointment to the post of prime minister with satisfaction and confidence. The prime minister's open statement has convinced us that the government will create conditions for peaceful life and work, not only for the three months that the prime minister asked for.

On our part, we will do everything to fulfil our tasks. The message was signed by the shipyard's manager, the first secretary of the shipyard's PUWP Committee and the head of the yard's Solidarity committee.

Representatives of the 100,000 inhabitants of Jaworzno gathered for a session of the city People's Council sent a message to the prime minister in which they voiced their conviction that the government will be consistent in its striving for the mutual observance and full realization of the August social contracts. The councillors from Jaworzno assured the prime minister that their electors will put in all possible effort to carry out the guidelines mapped out in his Sejm speech. The crew of the Budochem construction and assembly plant in Radom voiced their full support for the prime minister's appeal for 90 days of peaceful and industrious work. The plant's crew decided to fulfil their duties resulting from the prime minister's Sejm speech through honest work. The budochem crew appealed to other plants to support the government programme with a show of effective and well-organized work.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1800 GMT on 15 February carries a report on the messages of support which adds: "The telegram from the council of the Trade Union of Chemical Industry Workers says that, along with the rest of the nation, the council hopes for an improvement in the atmosphere in the country and for decisive steps on the part of the government--steps showing concern for the life of the nation. These steps must guarantee real opportunities for a way out of the difficult situation in which the country has found itself."

Other Unions, Organizations

LD162250 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Summary] The main council of the Metal Workers Trade Union met in plenary session in Katowice today. Many favorable changes have taken place in the union's activity in the past 4 months. The implementation of agreements is being monitored. "The participants in the plenary session of the main council of the Metal Workers Trade Union have sent a telegram to Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, in which they express the conviction that the program presented at the session of the Sejm will take our country out of chaos and allow it to enter the road of economic equilibrium.

"The Presidium of the main board of the independent Textile Garment and Leather Workers' Trade Union is also meeting today in Lodz. It sent a telegram to Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski assuring him that members of the union would do everything to support in the best possible way, by work and attitude, the striving toward implementation of the program presented by the premier in the Sejm.

Sincere congratulations and wishes for successful implementation of the program presented in the Sejm were conveyed to Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski on behalf of the members of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy by the chairman of the union's main board, Wlodzimierz Sokorski. In the telegram we read that the program presented in the Sejm is currently the only road for our country out of the difficult socioeconomic situation. The combatants belonging to the union support the program for saving the homeland by daily, involved professional and social work.

ORTHODOX CHURCH RESOLUTION ON CURRENT SITUATION

LD170153 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 17 Feb 81

[Text] A theological-pastoral conference of the clergy of the autocephalous Polish Orthodox Church has been held in Warsaw. The conference passed a resolution which states in part that the events of recent months affected all citizens of our homeland. We share the concerns and anxieties of the whole society, the resolution states, but we cannot agree with those who are trying to undermine the foundations of our socialist state. The Polish raison d'etat demands that action be taken to stabilize economic life and counter anarchy. The resolution stresses that what is needed now is intensified, honest and responsible effort in every job.

GRABSKI READS POLITBURO REPORT TO EIGHTH PZPR PLENUM

AU131035 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 81 pp 2, 3

[PZPR Politburo report to the 9 February Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw, read by Tadeusz Grabski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary: "The Party's Tasks in Shaping the Conditions for Trade Unions' Activities and Socialist Character"]

[Text] Comrades, the situation which has taken shape during the past few months in the Polish trade union movement calls for an honest assessment of the essence and nature of the changes occurring within it, and for defining conditions which should be fulfilled to make it possible for the trade unions to correctly discharge their basic functions.

The issue lies in the fact that we are facing a qualitatively new situation in the union movement, which, despite many essential differences and divisions, is called upon to discharge the same tasks in socialist society. Next to deliberations concerning its long-term objectives, there also exists a very important target for today, consisting of the necessity to mobilize all social forces for surmounting the crisis, the results of which are weighing so heavily on the working people's shoulders.

Unfortunately, the changes for the better expected by our society are too slow. The sociopolitical and economic crisis of the past few months is continuing to be aggravated, and this is causing enormous losses--economic and others. Mistrust in the apparatus of power is still a predominant feature, and unrest and dissatisfaction are continuing. The escalation of strikes is increasing, and social tension and economic chaos and destabilization are intensifying. The regularity of production work in the socialist enterprises, whose production should help meet the working people's basic needs, is being seriously disturbed. Manifestations of anarchy are undermining the people's interests. The process of society's and the state's disintegration is intensifying. At the same time, the working people's anxiety is spreading and so is their tiredness with the prolonged period of tension.

Activization of Antisocialist Forces

Consequently, the question arises to which we ought to find an answer at today's plenum: Why, despite the efforts undertaken by our party, do dangerous social tensions continue, and what is their source?

The processes taking place in the social consciousness and social attitudes are no doubt complex and their causes are varied. Whatever they are, however, a deep anxiety must be aroused by the widening wave of anarchistic attitudes, by the disregard for law and social norms, by the destabilization of state structures and institutions.

Frequently attempts are made to present this as an attitude expressing the striving for a renewal of social life, as an expression of democratic freedoms. Meanwhile, the true guarantee for participation of the workingman in the democratic governing of the state, to be real, that is, so that it is reflected in the transformation of reality, is an efficiently functioning state.

The undermining of structures and the paralyzing of its cells can, as a result, lead to a situation in which even the most democratically achieved decisions remain only an empty declaration. To dismantle the state is, in essence, to render powerless society. This state creates conditions for the activation of political forces which act in a planned way against socialism. They were not born today. In reality, in the entire period of socialist construction, political forces and orientations appear, and exist, aiming to halt or distort that process.

We are talking here about people who have for a long time been representing an anti-communist orientation and are mainly grouped around the so-called Committee for the Defense of Workers/Committee for Social Self-Defense [KOR/KSS].

The ideologues and leading activists of that grouping, Kuron, Michnik, Maciarewicz and others, in numerous articles and interviews for the bourgeois press, often anti-Polish, have not concealed their hopes and aims, behind which is concealed an essentially new concept of organizing in the socialist system a mechanism of free play of various political forces; and so: freedom of action for possible future political parties with an antisocialist orientation.

Posing as champions of progress, the adversaries of socialism are in fact trying to take our country back to the ideas and the sociopolitical system that were responsible for Poland's great tragedy in the recent past, and that the Polish people rejected a long time ago. At the moment, those attempts are being aimed at creating a system of dyarchy with the help of the support given temporarily to such tendencies by sections of confused society, sections still subject to emotions and not to political commonsense. Such support may turn against society itself—against its most vital interests which, as the entire previous experience shows, are tied to the people's state and to socialism.

Attempts are also being made to revive the slogans and programs of the Polish rightwing's political parties that, as a result of the political changes, lost their class base, which does not at all mean that some carriers of their views do not exist. The acuteness of the conflicts and tension we are experiencing is also responsible--as such situations always are--for creating suitable conditions for the manifestation of attitudes and activities of the people who deviated from socialism for various reasons.

The Line of Division and Struggle

The line of division and struggle is becoming increasingly clear. It divides the forces that sincerely wish the present changes to really take us closer to the socialist ideals of social justice and the working people's real democracy, and to produce Poland's creative development, from the groups that want to take our state away from socialism and deeply distort its nature. This is what is at stake in this struggle.

The opponents of our system of government know that the idea of socialism as a system of social justice is embedded deep in the consciousness of working people, and that they cannot deny it too openly. For that reason they try to create many appearances of concern for the fate of Poland. They avoid direct attacks on the leading role of the party and the permanence of our international alliances. In political practice, however, they do everything to discredit our party, to loosen Poland's ties with the socialist community.

The truth is that those opponents have no need for reforms, for changes in the party and for restoring the principles of socialist democracy in the state. Actually, such reforms and changes pose a clear danger to their true political aims. This is because an effective socialist renewal would cut the ground from under their feet. That is why, by maintaining the state of social commotion and intensifying the disorganization of public life, they are actually doing all they can to stop positive processes, and at the same time continue to accuse our party of lack of progress in this regard.

It is understandable, therefore, that the activity of those forces and groupings finds zealous support from Western anticommunist centers which, besides material, financial and political help, put at their disposal their tools of ideological and subversive influence: the columns of the bourgeois press, including PARYSKA KULTURA and, especially, Radio Free Europe.

Destabilization of social and economic relations, attempts at destablizing the state, political disarray--these are the means by which they want to achieve their goals.

Poland is an important link in the community of socialist states, in its defense system, in its economic position and moral and political unity.

Any weakening of Poland, weakening of her links with the socialist community, would dangerously shake and imbalance the disposition of forces in the world and particularly in Europe, thus threatening the process of detente and peace.

Our party, stemming from the will of the working class and the Polish people, is responsible above all to them. But every Pole must constantly bear in mind that our national interests, as a result of a historic process, are closely linked with the entire socalist system. The strength and position of the socialist community constitute the main warranty of Polish sovereignty and borders, of the possibilities for our peaceful development. Therefore, to oppose any action of the enemies of socialism is not only our party's duty but also a matter of best understood national interests, and therefore a duty of the entire nation.

The results of the chaos and destablization that are paralyzing the country's economic life are now as dangerous for the life of the people and state as political threats.

The fact of having averted by political means the most dangerous social crisis thus far, which occurred in July and August last year, opened the road to frank dialogue between society and the authorities. The most significant expressions of this were the agreements signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie.

Our party has always been and is for the consistent and complete implementation of those agreements, and reaffirmed its determination in this regard at the fifth, sixth and seventh party plenums.

We approved the contents of these agreements because we had been fully aware that they contain just demands of the workers reflecting general expectations of the society. Their implementation has demanded and will continue to demand an immense effort from the population in such a difficult economic situation of the country as the one existing at present.

We have also had reasons for expecting that the solution of this crisis would release all active forces of the nation to serve in the normalization of life and establishing law and order as well as peace. This is because on this, after all, depends the guaranteeing of the proper rhythm of work, making better use of human and material resources and reserves in our economy, and increased coresponsibility of the working class for the shaping and implementation of the social and economic policy of the country.

Hopes for the creation of bilateral, partnerlike conditions for the correct implementation of agreements were expressed by us at the seventh plenum of the Central Committee, when we proclaimed the alliance of all forces of commonsense, prudence and civic responsibility.

The same goal no doubt also guided the striking workforces, which in the agreements included an appeal for making good in the shortest time possible the losses which the national economy had suffered as a result of prolonged stoppages.

Economic Results of Social Tension

Evaluating these expectations from the distance of the 5 months which have elapsed since the moment of signing the agreements, we have to declare that the expectations of the nation for early normalization of life in the country have, unfortunately, not been fulfilled.

Among the reasons for this state of affairs are undoubtedly the economic results of mistakes of the past, and primarily since the departure during the last decade from the correct line of the Sixth PZPR Congress.

But a significant percentage of the reasons have occurred now, since the signing of the agreements. This was caused by the prolonged wave of strikes. These cause enormous losses to us, which considerably decrease the capacity of the Polish economy to overcome the crisis. They lower the already greatly reduced ability of the country to make payments.

As a result of stoppages in supplies and cooperative production and of strikes, the industrial production losses suffered in the second half of 1980 have not been made good, but have even greatly increased--to the tune of Z88 billion--which means that the entire Polish industry did not work for 10 days. The extraction and production of many basic raw materials such as bituminous coal, lignite, cement, fertilizers and oil products have decreased.

The dramatic picture of our economy in 1980 was presented by the recently published communique of the Central Statistical Office. The country's economic situation continues to worsen drastically. We have achieved particularly poor results in industry during January of this year, when the level of production went down by nearly Z28 billion, and only achieved the level of 92.4 percent of the level of January 1980.

Compared with January 1980, production decreases have occurred in all sectors of industry, especially in those of great importance for market supplies and for agricultural production means. That is why, compared with January 1980, the supplies our people received this January were short of the following amounts: 3.8 million tons of coal, 275,000 tons of cement, 11,000 washing machines, 52,000 radio and TV sets, 7,600 passenger cars, including 6,200 Fiat-126P cars, 405 tractors, 1.5 million meters of woolen textiles, 1.3 million pairs of shoes, and 5,000 tons of phosphoruous fertilizers.

Although payments from the wage fund during that period went up by nearly 19 percent, social productivity went down to 92.9 percent; production in building went down by 21.8 points.

The lower level of production in January this year caused the worsening of the situation in foreign trade. In comparison with January 1980, our exports were reduced to 75.8 percent, and in the second payment area, to 76.8 percent. Imports were reduced to 98.3 percent. Our national economy is suffering tremendous losses on account of this. By not fulfilling our long-range trade agreements, we are disrupting the economic life of our partners, especially the CEMA countries.

Such are the realities and results of the social tension, which has continued for too long. For instead of work and actions which would help the country to overcome a deep economic crisis, we were faced with actions leading to downing tools, voicing political demands going beyond the concluded agreements. We cannot ignore this or pass over it in silence.

These attitudes constitute at present a much greater danger for the implementation of agreements than the errors committed during the negotiations, in the implementation of individual points, or in the way of presenting specific proposals to public opinion for consultation.

There are people who treat with disbelief our reports on the deepening economic crisis, or even deny them. They do not want or perhaps cannot understand that the state of the economy depends on the reality of the concluded agreements. Indeed, what will be the result of wage increases if we can use this money to buy less than before, as the amount of money on the market grows. What benefit will come of the free Saturdays if instead of rest, they generate difficulties and worries and bring about ever-longer queues for foodstuffs on these 2 days off. The inflationary spirial could extend dangerously if we do not undertake--all of us-- a tremendous effort to produce as many goods as possible. The people must understand this and draw appropriate conclusions from this.

The confidence of society is of uppermost importance. It is simply decisive for our future. For this, however, realism in assessing the economic situation is needed. Indeed, the results of this situation are apparent on shelves in shops, in warehouses of various enterprises, from stocks of coal at power plants. We must remove the scales from our eyes and face up to the truth.

And it is bitter and cruel, and one can draw only one single conclusion from it: We must act with utmost deliberation. What we need is work, efficient work, taking advantage of each and every hour when there are raw materials and power, and when the machines are running.

This must be done, unless someone wants to completely disdain his own existence and future. Perhaps his future does not interest him because he has an eye on something else and seeks something else than an overwhelming majority of our people. The working people need social justice in the same way as they need respect for their rights and dignity. But justice is not merely a slogan: It also denotes genuine participation in the distribution of products according to one's work.

That is why everyone--society as well as the economic and state administration--must help to overcome difficulties, to assuage the results of the economic crisis and to take the country to the road of undisturbed development in the future. The government and state administration have to accomplish particularly numerous tasks, the success of which depends on social support. To gain this support, the government must tell the public extensively and regularly about the true state of the economy and, just as frequently, about the way in which the agreements with representatives of work forces are implemented. Otherwise misunderstandings and downright differences of opinion may result in this connection. It is also necessary to tell the people about the government's initiatives and activities to solve the state's complicated problems, and to improve the system of social relations and relations between the working people and the state and economic administrations. The government should accelerate the complete implementation of the Central Committee decisions that are of crucial importance for society, and for strengthening one's conviction that there is no equivocation in our attitudes and activities and that the party is greatly committed to transforming our life, to eliminating all evils from it and to intensifying activities to promote social justice.

This is because it is not enough to outline the ways of overcoming the crisis in discussions and disputes. Above all, these ways must be put right and even constructed anew if necessary in intensive daily toil. We must all be fully aware of this.

Trade Unions Are a Permanent Element of Democracy

Comrades! In the socialist social system, trade uniions constitute an important and lasting link of democracy. The Polish trade union movement in the past 36 years has, despite justified criticism from some working people about some of its shortcomings, methods and style of operation, made a great contribution to the development of Poland, taking active part in socialist construction. Trade unions have united in their ranks the majority of working people who for many years have supported the democratic nature of trade union organizations, their creative nature and the active area of their public work. They represented, despite many inportant differences, possibly the most effective interests of workers of all working people. But their demands were not always taken into account.

After all, we owe it to the state and the trade unions that we have an extensive vacation and convalescence base, which was created or protected even during the most unfavorable periods. The struggle to improve medical care for workforces in factory-run clinics; activities to promote the cultural development and intellectual interests of the working people, with the help of an extensive network of factory and trade unions libraries, clubs and houses of culture; and efforts to expand various forms of recreation, tourism and sports for workers--these are just a few examples illustrating that enormous activity. Nor may we forget other extremely important spheres such as protection of work, the struggle for work safety, the struggle against dangers to life and limb, progressive labor legislation, protection of the interests of working mothers and their children as well as of large families, and efforts to expand and modernize vocational education, which trains cadres for the economy.

Whatever constitutes the genuine achievements of People's Poland in the past decades is also a result of the militancy of trade unionism which, despite obstacles and difficulties, did not cease its efforts to ensure that the interests of the working people and their families be the overriding and guiding idea of all the authorities' activities.

It ought to be said clearly that quite apart from the party itself, the trade unions also gave full voice, far ahead of the events of last summer, and especially before the eighth party congress, in their proposals and demands, to the opinions of workers, working people, to full criticism, and at the same time to great bitterness. So we ought to pay tribute to all those trade union activists who never gave up their public mission.

While appreciating the great importance the trade union movement has for the construction of socialism in Poland, the PZPR attaches great importance to the rebirth of trade unions because it sees in them a mass organization for the protection of working peoples' interests, an organization which expresses their opinions and needs and is a creative force behind socialist transformations in public life.

In the new political situation, the rights and obligations of trade unions must be defined in a way which corresponds to the demands and conditions of the present stage in the development of socialist society. We can say with a full sense of responsibility that such conditions have been created. Our party has, in accordance with agreements, given the working people the right to form trade unions independent of organs of administration. A full self-governing trade union movement has the right to freely shape its internal statutes under one condition, however. These statutes and aims of activity must agree with the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, with the principles of law and the socialist nature of our system. This means the recognition of public ownership of basic production resources, respect for the system of Poland's international alliances and full respect for the fact that the PZPR performs a leading role as the guiding political force of the state.

The sweeping range of trade union powers based on the principle of bilateral partner-like relations and cooperation with the state and economic administrations guarantees for the trade unions an effective protection of the working people's current and long-term interests.

These powers impose on trade unions an important duty and right to help increase the national income and to distribute it equitably. This principle guarantees the trade unions' influence on improving the way in which the national economy is run, and gives them the right to sponsor and support all activities encouraging production progress and the exploitation of man's skills. Trade unions have an inalienable right to voice opinions on all issues that are of crucial importance for the working people and their dependents. This is true of draft national socioeconomic plans through the workers' rights and duties and the system of wages and social benefits. Conditions of safe work, medical care and recreation; the methods of meeting the working people's needs in housing; control of prices, costs of living and market supplies; and protection of the natural environment are of crucial importance.

The implementation of trade unions' tasks depends on their direct ties with workforces and on their increased reliance on the workers aktivs in factories, as well as on the increasing participation of production workers in all the bodies of trade union authority and in workers self-government groups.

The trade unions' participation in factory management should help in implementing the economic reform which is being prepared, and, above all, in promoting the independence and responsibility of factories.

The trade unions' coparticipation in the creation of material bases for the improvement in living standards of working people and their families strengthens their importance and position in the process of shaping socioeconomic development and gives greater importance to their didactic activities among workforces and responsibility for the effectiveness of management.

But the work place and its people is and will continue to be a region of special concern in trade union activity. Today this is of all the greater importance because all kinds of trade union movement bodies are active in enterprises and this constitutes considerable danger for the interests of workforces. Because of a lack of cooperation among trade unions, the cultural, social and didactic activity in enterprises is already suffering, and this also applies to sport and recently to winter holiday camps. This has given rise to potential tensions among workforces and new sources of conflicts.

At present we can see organizational disarray in the trade union movement. But it is our view that we ought to preserve its political unity because the interests of the working class and all working people, for the sake of which this movement was created and which it represents, are indivisible.

The need for cooperation among the various trade union organizations also arises from the socialist nature of social relations in our state. Moreover, despite justified differences in the methods of operation, in setting working priorities, or in taking up tactical aims, the strategic aims of trade unions are convergent or even indentical with the main aims of party effort, because the issue is the creation of fully socialist social relations in our country, the prosperity of all working people. What is at issue above all is the conquest of our social and economic crisis, the conquest of difficulties in which our country finds itself.

These are extremely important and difficult national tasks, which can serve as an adequate plane for possible understanding, a plane which can and should accommodate all the forces and people who have the cause of the workers class at heart, who recognize socialism as the aim of their activities and who are sincerely dedicated to our fatherland. The most important thing is that they have a common wish: the good and favorable development of Poland and the good of the working people. The ability to develop correct relations to overcome the unnecessary mistrust between the apparatus of power and trade unionism guarantees the success of our tasks. Actually, this is the only possibility, because we will either act in common--albeit not uncritically--in the name of a single aim and in keeping with social hopes and the spirit of renewal, or the present crisis will become more acute. And this is what the party wants to prevent by every means in the name of our overriding national interests. It would create a most dangerous state of affairs.

Our party is in favor of the broadest possible and genuine self-government and independence of Polish trade unions. The process of putting these principles into practice is going forward in the whole trade union movement and this applies also to the industrial branch trade unions, which have behind them several decades of a rich tradition of defending the interests of working people and living standards of the working class. In the printing community, this tradition goes back more than 100 years and among builders, miners and forestry workers almost 90 years.

The industrial branch trade unions have adopted and are developing the experiences of the class trade movement and employ its ideals and its social and political achievements. Amidst difficult efforts, they are regaining the trust of workforces and comrades at work, and strengthening their social authority.

The congresses of all branch trade unions have been an important element of the changes in trade unionism. They have been held in an acute and critical atmosphere. The branch trade unions' chief concern is to defend the working people's interests, and the basic principle they have adopted is recognition of the party's leading role and the socialist, ideological-political unity of the trade union movement.

The activities of regional boards is being revived and work in the plant councils in enterprises is gaining impetus.

The branch trade unions have set up their own coordinating commission, which is a forum of their united activities. The commission's concern is to safeguard the vital interests of its member trade unions and to ensure that these unions can influence government decisions.

A new organization--the Provisional Committee for Cooperation of Autonomous Trade Unions--has recently been set up. This organization includes some scores [kilkadziesiat] of independent, self-governing trade unions affiliating various trades and professions, and is now quite a force.

For several months now there has been a process of formation in the NSZZ Solidarity, a movement which has the right to full citizenship in the life of our country and has to perform, as other trade unions do, an important and momentous social function.

From its activities thus far it appears that this movement is clearly varied as regards organization and political-ideological attitudes. It is natural that its character will be decided by the attitudes of the millions of its members, who see the new trade union as representing their interests and rights.

The bulk of membership has confidence in Solidarity and it links its hopes with its activities for improvements in working and living conditions, with the observance of socialist democracy. Thus, they are interested in the new trade union becoming a permnent and an important ingredient in our system by contributing constructive values that will serve the country.

By fulfilling these expectations, many Solidarity organizations in enterprises have already undertaken appropriate cooperation with the administration of enterprises, with enterprise councils of the branch trade unions, with party and with social organizations. They are also actively participating in the work of workers' self-government.

Dangerous Tendencies in NSZZ Solidarity's Activity

We should bear in mind that aside from plant bodies, the NSZZ Solidarity is an area of militant activities of large regional and central leadership groups and of groups of advisors and inspirers with varied experience and political views. Unfortunately, these groups include people who are well known for their past struggle against socialism and the party. They are trying to lead the NSZZ Solidarity toward destructive activities, adventurism and, ultimately, to counterrevolution. Seeking to achieve their political aims and ambitions, they are exploiting society's disorientation and the general discontent created by economic difficulties, using men, slogans and demagogy. The increasingly open use of Solidarity by functionaries of the Social Self-Defense Committee KOR as a forum for propagating views that are hostile to socialism, as a place in which the KOR can win new sympathizers, and as an area in which publicity for the benefit of foreign countries can be gained, gives rise to concern.

NSZZ Solidarity is still in a stage of transformation from a mass and spontaneous movement into an organization with institutionalized structures and modes of action. It is concentrating mainly on demands, aiming mainly at restoring rights. But it still does not have an official, constructive program of action approved by members. Certain segments of the union leadership and of groups of its advisers are clearly interested in prolonging this temporary character.

The period of time that has elapsed since registration as brought almost daily proof that a part of the leadership and advisors of this organisation are aiming at imposing upon the movement clearly political aims.

A number of activities and measures taken by the individual bodies of Solidarity have exceeded trade union statutory norms. For example, the dispute about registration was not a formally legal issue, but above all a struggle for a trade unionist and socialist character of Solidarity, in keeping with the meaning of the appropriate agreements and with the aspirations of the majority of the people who had set up and joined the new trade unions.

In the past few weeks there have been increasing cases of violations of statutory norms by Solidarity organizations. This has been especially true of the decisions defining the aims and forms of Solidarity activities. Public speeches, various propaganda and information materials and various publications continue to slander the socialist system, to question the party's leading role in the state and, at the same time, to deny every achievement of People's Poland.

Attempts are being made to undermine the authority of the apparatus of power by rumors and insinuations. In many regions, Solidarity continues to demand that representatives of party and state authority should be removed from their positions. But it is the party that is heading the process of purging public life of corrupted people, and of bringing to account those who are responsible for the errors and abuses of power. However, the party is doing all this with prudence, so as to avoid wrong personal decisions.

Attempts have been made to discredit the militia, the security service and the prosecuting organs, to occupy the premises used by administrative bodies or social organizations--as was the case in Ustrzyki, Nowy Sacz and Rzeszow- and to compel decisions on changing the purpose of state buildings.

At the same time, a state of mental anxiety is being created among the managing cadres in factories. Actions are being taken to paralyze the decisions made by directors and managers, to threaten party aktivists, to disturb party functionaries in their private apartments and, recently, to interfere with or prevent party meetings.

Many Solidarity functionaries have adopted--as a permanent mode of activity--the tactic of infringing on their statutory norms as regards proclaiming strikes and exploiting them.

Making use of the fact that so far there is no legal basis as regards the proclamation, progress and economic-financial results of strikes, they organize strikes on the slightest excuse and without any sense of social responsibility for the resulting losses.

With the help of this final weapon, they want to achieve all their objectives and goals; their objectives--which does not always mean the objectives of the working class.

The notorious use on these occasions of our national colors, of white-red armbands and flags constitutes, in a way, a violation of these symbols.

A good example of this behavior is found in the campaign started by Solidarity on the shortening of work hours. The organizers of the strikes caused through this campaign and later the work boycott on 10 and 24 January used the theme of work-free Saturdays only as a pretext, because the economic and moral agreements were on the side of the state. As is known, commonsense and objectivity were finally victorious.

But particular anxiety is caused by the recently organized strikes which have a political character, which have no connection with the real sense of the trade union movement and which cause losses amounting to many millions in production.

These strikes include those in Bielsko Biala Voivodship and in Jelenia Gora. The latter strike has been proclaimed today for purely prestige reasons as a trial of strength, and constitutes a glaring provocation, for it seeks to coerce by force a decision to turn over for general hospital purposes the sanatorium that is being constructed for the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. That strike has been organized, although--following negotiations for many days--the state and voivodship authorities have suggested other solutions to Jelenia Gora Solidarity because the sanatorium in question is not suitable as a hospital without many years of costly adaptation work.

The strikes promised by printing workers are entirely political in nature. The strike organized by Lodz students during examinations has been on for several days. Aside from many correct demands, the students have asked among other things for abolishing instruction in ideological subjects, for a drastic reduction in the time spent on military training at their schools, and for the release of political prisoners. The extreme wing of Solidarity is supporting the organizers of this strike.

Realizing that today not everyone will uncritically respond to the calls for strikes, some Solidarity functionaries are using the methods of frightening and psychologically softening up the workforces. For example, in many enterprises lists have been pinned on the walls of people who worked on 10 and 24 January, calling them "strikebreakers."

This evaluation of the situation shows the increasing divergence between social interests and the political goals of some sections of Solidarity forces.

It is in society's interest to most speedily implement the agreements signed by the two sides, to begin intensive work in peace and good order, to respect the law and to overcome the crisis as soon as possible. But the extreme forces of Solidarity are trying all the time to disturb the social peace and to create new conflicts and tension. The strategic aim of these activities is to create conditions for destroying socialist relations, for dismantling the people's state and for introducing dyarchy and then political pluralism serving counterrevolutionary plans. But this constitutes a great threat to the political foundations of our state because it strikes at the interests of the very workers class.

Fulfilling its duties toward society, our state will not renounce the legal means with which to protect its interests against antisocialist attacks.

Today, Solidarity--all its activists and members--is facing the fundamental question concerning the road of development of their organization, the role they want to play in the nation.

Will it be a road of continuous escalation of demands, of maintaining a state of tension, or a road of active participation in efforts aimed at taking our country out of an exceptionally difficult situation? Will it be a role of destruction of what we have already created, or a role of cocreators of new moral and material values imperative for our nation, of cocreators of socialist renewal in Poland?

Replies to these questions are linked with great responsibility for the future of the country.

Without giving up justified postulates, the criticism of evil, the struggle for a new content and form of life, we must at the same time take care that the risks associated with the changes that are taking place are not too great, that the superior interests of the state and the nation are not exposed to danger.

On the response to these fundamental questions depends the attitude of our party to Solidarity. Our party, in conformity with the decisions of the sixth and seventh plenums, will continue to view all the actions of all trade unions which result from their statutory goals and powers with understanding and friendliness.

These powers and tasks ensure for Solidarity and for branch and autonomous trade unions an important place in our country's sociopolitical system, and opportunities for sharing decisions on many issues, including state issues. But they also impose considerable duties on trade unionism. We know that the new trade union movement needs time to stabilize and organize itself, but, let us be frank, under the circumstances we all have little time.

The Party Is for Renewal

Comrades! More than 2 months have elapsed since the Seventh Central Committee Plenum. The results met with the understanding and support of the party and nation. They became a strong impulse for active deeds by members of party organizations and echelons.

Developing the ideas of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, we defined the sense of the socialist character of renewal, the directions of the necessary transformations in our political and social life.

Their implementation and the emergence of Poland from the crisis is possible only when the working class, peasants, the intelligentsia, in a word all the working people, participate en masse in the implementation of this exceptionally difficult task.

To make this happen, our party is aiming at regaining the confidence and support of the nation by creating conditions for real participation of the working people in deciding on the problems of the state and economy.

On the initiatives of the PZPR--together with the allied political parties, the ZSL and the Democratic Party--we are restoring the genuine functioning of representative bodies such as the Sejm and the people's councils. We want various forms of self-government in urban and rural areas to genuinely develop in keeping with Polish traditions, because such self-government helps expand the social base of our socialist state.

The principles and practice of close, partnerlike cooperation of our party with the ZSL and the Democratic Party are being shaped ever more fully. This is based on the recognition of their independence and their full participation in working out and implementing the program of the construction of socialism, with recogntion of the leading role of the party of the working class.

Together with the ZSL, we have published the policy provisions toward the rural areas. Together with the Democratic Party we are shaping conditions for the development of services and light production.

In rural areas, as in the whole country, a renewal of social life is also taking place. This favors the revival and activization of agricultural self-government. This process has already embraced the great majority of Polish rural areas. Similarly, permanent phenomena are taking place in rural cooperatives. They are generally approved by peasants.

Agricultural self-government, making use of its rich patriotic traditions and achievements of more than 120 years, is strongly stressing in its work farmers' vocational and social problems. Agricultural circles, rural housewives' circles defend the interests of the rural areas and will effectively work for improving living conditions in rural areas and for raising the status of farmers.

Peasant self-government has received the necessary instrument for action, found in the autonomous control of the agricultural development fund. The influence of self-government views on administrative decisions will be increased considerably. This will undoubtedly shape the deep transformations in the style and methods of functioning of parish authorities, and will effectively counter all wrongs and dishonesty in services rendered to agriculture.

The already begun and deepening process of rebirth of peasant self-government will be developed consistently by the countryside itself, in accordance with the party line, and this will be an irreversible trend. The peasants' support our agricultural policy for they see in it their future prospects. The success of that policy is important for the whole nation. The point is, after all, for Poland to be self-sufficient in food. So all attempts to divert the peasants from that program are in conflict with their interests and with general social interests. This comment particularly concerns attempts to organize Rural Solidarity; for here one can see clearly that the dispute over self-government is aimed at transforming the countryside into an area of acute political struggle with the people's authorities, at breaking up their unity.

The initiators of the creation of this new peasant organization are often people sent in from outside, often demonstrating their antisocialist face and political concepts.

In response to social expectations and workers' aspirations, on the party's initiative a draft economic reform has been drawn up. Its general task is to overcome the present economic difficulties and to ensure a higher and necessary economic efficiency in the long run. Draft laws on enterprises, workers self-government, territorial self-government or people's councils, cooperativist self-government, trade unions and censorship are in an advanced stage.

All this seeks to ensure that the democratic changes in the functioning of the state's political institutions--these changes help strengthen socialist social self-government--are legally anchored and cannot be reversed.

Profound changes are taking place primarily within the party. The earlier need to radically change party life has been given a detailed treatment by the seventh plenum resolutions and by preparations for the ninth congress. This has also been beneficial for the consolidation of party ranks. The value of the Leninist principles of the party's functioning, democracy and genuineness is being tested in internal party life. Many examples from all over the country show that many party organizations have recovered their poise in the present difficult situation. This means that--although slowly and with frequent difficulties--the seventh plenum resolutions are achieving their basic purpose, and a climate favorable to independent activity is slowly emerging. Party members and collectives are proving themselves under these circumstances, and new experience is being gathered. PZPR members and organizations are increasingly bolder in claiming their inalienable right to participate in formulating party policy and to control its implementation.

This invigoration of ideological life, discussions and polemics is very valuable. That is why we must not waste anything creative and constructive in this great precongress debate.

Whatever helps strengthen the party's prowess--its internal democracy and united political activity--favors the changes in society and the state, and is the basic premise for them. Poland needs a state that is effective and democratic--that is strong and enjoys considerable prestige. There will be no strong state without a strong party.

At the same time, however, we are greatly disturbed by the manifestations in many party organizations.

Some of these organizations, unmindful of the threats from the forces hostile to socialism, have failed to shake off their passivity toward the development of events. The tendency toward a sterile contemplation of the past and toward forgetting the party's achievements is still strong. Contemplating the past and not looking forward to the future amounts to agreeing that the party's ability to take the country out of its crisis should be questioned. Unfortunately, this tendency also shows manifestations of ideological capitulation in the face of attacks against the party and against the unshakable principles of its activity.

The Party's Militancy and Unity Is a Condition for the Effectiveness of Transformations

The effectiveness and correct direction of transformations depend on the party's political militancy and united activity. That is why whatever weakens the party is objectively against those transformations. We need joint activity to strengthen the Leninist norms of internal party life, the unity of democratic centralism, the democratic principles of activity and the party's organizational structure.

That is why our joint duty is to resolutely overcome whatever strikes at the party's united activities and ideological and political cohesion. We must protect the party against opportunistic, social-liberal, even anarchic trends, as well as against passivity, a tendency to capitulate and narrow dogmatic thinking. Not even for a moment can the PZPR afford to cease to be a party of struggle for socialist renewal, of active work for the country, and of people of action.

We must most resolutely oppose all attempts to discredit the party aktivs, members and apparatus in the eyes of society. While parting with dishonest, hypocritical and compromised people, we will not let our enemies slander those who are party members. We will protect the good name of our honest and honorable comrades.

The party's most important task now is concern for the trade union movement's political unity. The party will continue to create the political conditions and consistently strive for an independent, self-governing trade union movement to become an important and lasting element of the socialist political structure of Polish society; a force influencing the development of socialist democracy; streamlining economic processes for a better and more just meeting of society's needs.

The new situation in the trade unions has faced party members and candidate members with the problem of defining their stand on the issue of union membership--with the problem of choice. This choice is, in any case, still an open question for many comrades.

A large number of party members have joined Solidarity. The experience of Solidarity activities in the past few months is often responsible for doubts and uncertainties as to the compatibility between party integrity and Solidarity membership. This is especially so when one has to take a stand on manifestations such as political strikes as a form of blackmail vis-a-vis the apparatus of power, the boycott of work or the views that are hostile to socialism.

That is why we want to examine here the issue of the attitudes and conduct of PZPR members in trade unions. We want to define the limits that the PZPR members must not cross, regardless of their trade union membership. It goes without saying that party membership cannot be an obstacle to trade union activities, under the condition that such activity does not violate the rights and duties of party members and the tasks and goals mapped out by the PZPR statutes. While free to choose his trade union, a communist must realize that respect for ideology and for the party's programmatic line is his overriding duty. This means in practice that party members active in trade unions must recognize, be always faithful to and, if necessary, defend the ideals of our party--of socialism.

The Communists' Duties in Trade Unions

It is duty of party members to oppose the manifestations--being asserted in some Solidarity organizations--of struggle against socialism and of attempts to dismantle the apparatus of power and the state and to violate legality.

As trade union functionaries, party members should be especially active in responding to people's problems, to be sensitive to all manifestations of evil, baseness and social injustice, to be militant in social and political affairs, in particular, to lead in their normal jobs and to give an example of modesty and selflessness.

In particular, party members should ensure a high moral and ethical standard and deep human character of social relations. Only in this way will communists be able to win the respect of their communities and to add to the authority of their own party.

Party members should encourage the processes that consolidate democratic relations in trade unions, using for this purpose all positive models of internal party democracy. It is especially important to observe collegiality in decisionmaking and the openness of trade union life. This is because party norms do not limit or trammel the forms and methods of trade union work. Also, they can be of help in investing those methods with a definite democratic style.

Efforts to strengthen the position and status of factory trade union organizations and the importance of trade union meetings and the work of elders, and efforts to achieve a political integration of the trade union movement and the unity of its actions in the interest of the working people are an extremely important task, especially under the conditions of the organizational division of trade unionism.

Bearing in mind the present situation in trade unionism and the existence of its various organizations in factories, we should enhance their "ability to conduct a dialogue," give good examples of such a dialogue and, if necessary, adopt a posture that helps assuage irritating situations. We should do this for the sake of trade unionism's ideological-political unity.

The question of the attitude of party members and candidates to the activity of trade unions which goes beyond the framework of the legal statute requires, however, separate and unequivocal consideration. In the case of such activity being undertaken, and particularly the organizing of strikes under political slogans, infringing the principles of observance of the law, PZPR members should absolutely refuse to take part in them. There cannot be, comrades, a compromise between the duties of party and trade union discipline where the arguments of socialism are concerned. The disappearance of the frontiers between a sense of false, often regionally conceived, trade union solidarity and responsibility for the existence of the whole country is at present becoming the reason for the disorganization of the life of its citizens. The slogan of solidarity which grew in the past out of the noble aims and will of the struggle of the working class for the right to live and work, was always linked with a high sense of responsibility for the fate of comrades, nearest and dearest and one's own circle. This traditional trend should be upheld and strengthened by the party.

The communists' activity in trade unions must in no way curb the independence, inspiring and controlling functions and initiative of the basic party organizations in factories. PZPR members in trade unions should be helped by their parent organizations when fighting for implementation of workers' just demands, when engaging in arguments, when opposing incorrect and unreasonable demands and when counte.ing lax discipline and production conditions. To do this it is necessary for basic party organizations to always assess the situation at hand and the compatibility of the activities of the administration, trade unions and other social bodies with the decisions of the agreements signed 6 months ago.

No one has deprived the basic party organizations of the right and duty to watch the manifestations of conduct that are in conflict with the interests of socialist Poland and the Polish people. Party organizations, executive committees and party members must react to antiparty and antisocialist statements, leaflets and slogans, regardless of their origins.

Should disputes arise between trade unions and the administration, party members in trade unions have the duty to follow the stand adopted by their parent organization and party body.

The party's mass ideological-political work has a special role to play. Its basic purpose now is to spread the knowledge that, regardless of their differences, trade unions should be socialist organizations and should have a proper place in socialist democracy.

The NSZZ Solidarity also has such a role to play. The grassroots base of Solidarity--workers and various working people--are for socialism and for common work for our fatherland. That is why we must do everything to ensure a patient, permanent dialogue with workers who are members of Solidarity and with all its bodies. This dialogue should be conducted consistently, honestly and with an eye on all the reasons for the present situation. However, it is also our duty to point to the dangers resulting from attempts by Solidarity functionaries to oppose the party and the apparatus of power and from the constant escalation of protest and political actions that have nothing in common with Solidarity's statutory goals and norms.

It is also necessary to wholly unmask the true nature of the political ambitions and goals of Solidarity functionaries and advisors, who, making statements abroad or inspiring suitable actions in various regions and factories in Poland, destroy social peace and order and incite the breaking of the law.

This is an extremely important issue, because the line of political division does not run between the individual factions of trade unionism, but within it, which is especially obvious in Solidarity. The point is that the extremist forces, which are not very numerous but, as one can see, have influence, are trying to dominate the entire Solidarity movement and to make it toe their own line. This is in conflict not only with the country's interests, but also with the majority of Solidarity members.

We must support the socially correct and prosocialist trends in that movement, even if we differ in evaluating various phenomena and in solving individual problems. Such differences may diminish or disappear if matters are discussed meaningfully and honestly and if they are negotiated calmly and responsibly. After all, as a society and as a people engaged in socialist construction we have the same interests.

We will be able to achieve this desirable and most necessary state of affairs if we all realize that the country's present situation requires a resolute choice between anarchy, chaos and social disintegration, which leads to dismantling the socialist institutions of power and to undermining the place and role of the PZPR, and between efforts to strengthen socialist democracy. This democracy is the only guarantee that the renewal will be real and that the causes of the present evil and crisis will be removed. Socialist democracy is the only way to rehabilitate human dignity and the working people's influence on development of state, social and economic life and the only opportunity to ensure complete implementation of social justice. Every citizen and PZPR member and candidate must make this choice.

Poland's fate, as never before, today lies in the hands of the Polish nation itself. The socialist principles of the system of government, the development of its material and cultural base, the authority of the people's state--These are the work of all its citizens, party and nonparty, believers and nonbelievers. The role of the party, the attitude of its members today have a fundamental, a simply inestimable significance, because the party bears the responsibility for socialism, for what is good and bad in the past, but also for the future.

But socialism is not built by party people alone. It is the work of all working people. For that reason, particularly today, in such a difficult situation, it is extremely important for the roads leading to social agreement through dialogue and coparticipation and coresponsibility to be as wide as possible and fully used. It is also important to frustrate every attempt to narrow down and block these roads.

We are a party which takes full responsibility for the development of socialism and the way out of the present crisis; the party of the working class, conscious of its obligations to serve its class and its own nations.

So let us appeal, comrades, from the platform of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, to all members and candidates of the party to actively participate in the trade unions, to represent in them socialist ideology and party adherence to principles, to consolidate the socialist character of the trade union movement and all of its aims. The concurrence of actions of the trade union movement with the program aims and line of socialist renewal, proclaimed by our party, will decide Poland's future. The point today is to overcome the acute crisis; to overcome the growing economic difficulties, today and tomorrow, to develop and consolidate socialist democracy, to rebuild trust between society and party, between working people and the authorities. So it is a question of the future of socialism.

MILITARY COMMITTEES DISCUSS PLENUM, SEJM SESSION

LD152132 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] The resolution of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the decisions of the recent Sejm session are focussing the interest of society. Discussions are in progress in all circles, including among soldiers of the Polish People's Army. Extended plenary sessions of party committees in military districts, branches of the Armed Forces and at military academies are taking place with a sense of profound concern for strengthening the process of socialist renewal. They are at the same time an expression of support by military society for the party leadership and the government in the further strengthening of the socialist state, the restoration of economic equilibrium and the guarantee of calm and security for the country. Conferences have taken place to date in the Warsaw and Pomorze Military Districts, in the Air Forc in the Air Defense Forces and at the General Staff Academy.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON PZPR PLENUM, SEJM SESSION DECISIONS

LD131448 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 13 Feb 81

["No Alternative to Plenum and Sejm Decisions"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Feb (PAP)--The party daily TRYBUNA LUDU gave the following comment on Poland in the light of the latest 8th PUWP CC Plenum and yesterday's full session of the Sejm.

"Nobody is saying that during the six months which have elapsed since the proclamation of profound changes in the party and state policy, we have already succeeded in creating a cohesive, clear and efficient system of management of the economy, production as well as motivation and organization of effective work. On the contrary, we are still burdened with the legacy of many years of incohesion, disturbances and contradictions in a field of such key importance for the country's nationhood. But it would be putting things upside down if we assumed that insistence on well-disciplined and solid work could wait until such time when all changes and reforms in the economic system are fully mature. Reason dictates that it is necessary to work diligently now even if the conditions in many ways are unfavourable, because only the effects of such work promise to create material conditions and concrete foundations for the mastering and improvement of the situation and implementation of the projected reforms."

"A country which is a cradle of the contemporary peace movement has a duty towards the international community to refrain from creating problems which in cold calculation can be used against the interests of peace.

"We, all people of good will who have preserved a clear mind and a sense of responsibility, must agree that what the renewal calls for in the first place is businesslike discussion, well-balanced decisions and orderly actions while at the same time it cannot tolerate anarchy and downright adventurism.

"Today there is no alternative to the decisions of the 8th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee and the Sejm. Of course, other variants are likely to be proposed by those who are the least concerned with the wellbeing of our community. We must be on our guard against all kinds of false advisers.

"The most important thing now for us is once again to trust ourselves, exactly as we did at the turn of last August and September. What is at stake is Poland and all that which is of the utmost importance for her."

WERBLAN VIEWS ROLE OF SEJM IN CURRENT SITUATION

LD071745 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Feb 81

[Text] Andrzej Werblan, vice marshal of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic and member of the PZPR Central Committee, has published an article in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, devoted to the problems of Poland's internal political situation, which, in his view, is moving gradually from bad to worse. Examining the possibilities of getting out of the situation, A. Werblan touches in particular on the questions of compromise and agreement among the forces active in the country, the party's links with the masses and antisocialist agitation. The author writes, in particular:

The possibility of curbing the elemental [stikhiynyy] processes and of controlling them is to be found not so much in the "firm hand" policy as in becoming conscious of the sense of these processes and adapting to them to the extent necessary to give them a constructive direction and to weaken or liquidate their destructive force. To these ends one must think of the long term, yielding on less important questions in order to protect the main interests of the working class, the state and the people.

There are many people who today think that perhaps the possibility of avoiding confrontation and for gradual stabilization can be found in a new, comprehensive compromise between the authorities and self-governing public organizations, "Solidarity" above all. The question arises: Is a compromise of this kind possible? Can the sides conclude it? Responding--in principle--in the affirmative, A. Werblan dwells on the role which the Sejm can play in this process. Demands are beginning to be voiced that the Sejm should take the initiative in the talks between the government and the trade unions, that it should set up something not unlike a public arbitration body. The demand that the Sejm should play a more substantial role in solving controversial social problems is a rational one. However, the Sejm cannot conduct talks. It should actively supervise their progress and results and control implementation of the agreements.

This demand can be fulfilled by setting up an extraordinary commission on these questions, or by arranging, in the appropriate fashion, the work of several standing commissions. Giving an open character to conflicts and arguments would be an important consequence of the Sejm's activities. Thanks to this, public opinion would gain more influence over the course of events.

In the current situation, continues A. Werblan, the maintenance of spiritual and political ties with social classes and strata constitutes an essential condition for exerting influence on the course of events, upon the conduct of social classes and strata. It would, however, be a simplification and even half-truth to boil down the essence of the strategy of the revolutionary movement with regard to major mass public trends to the capability of maintaining ties with them. The demands that, while marching along with the masses, the revolutionary movement should overtake the masses by half a step at least, should take note and take into account not only direct but also indirect consequences of the actions currently being undertaken, should persistently defend conclusions arising therefrom, should defend socialist interests that coincide with the historical interests of the working class and all working people, constitute an inalienable principle of this strategy. Leninism has always opposed both a capitulatory attitude to elemental forces and bureaucratic haughtiness with regard to spontaneous movements and aspirations.

The ability to distinguish between views and aspirations that are dictated by concern for the country's well-being and antisocialist agitation that strikes at the political structures of socialism and the Polish-Soviet alliance acquires a key significance in the current situation.

Only upon this condition do ideological and political polemics become comprehensible to the people; only then do they influence consciousness.

Need for Compromise

LD070940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 7 Feb 81

[From the press review]

[Text] In ZYCIE WARSZAWY we find an article entitled "Three Reflections" written by Andrzej Werblan. The author describes the present social and political situation in our country, drawing attention to the fact that it is gradually worsening. The development of the situation is becoming increasingly passionate in character. One could have expected that, but at first it was not so very apparent.

In the opinion of the author, the way to control these fervent processes is not so much to follow a hard-line policy of not giving in, but to understand the sense of these processes and adapt to them to a degree that would appear to be imperative. This would give them a constructive direction and weaken or eliminate their destructive and destabilizing power.

This calls for rising above current motivations and for following long-range thinking. It calls for readiness to make concessions in the sphere of particular interests, in the name of defense of fundamental interests which are vital to the working class, to the state and to the nation.

Andrzej Werblan continues: In politics one must not measure concessions by compromises. Fragmentary concessions are [words indistinct] of bad policy. Compromises usually generate good policies, which bring about long-range, mutually beneficial settlements. The social agreements signed at the end of August were such compromises. They did not solve everything, but they ended a sharp phase in the crisis.

Today many people are wondering whether the way to avoid a confrontation and obtain stabilization can be found in the new complex compromise between the authorities and the self-governing social organizations, especially Solidarity.

RAKOWSKI STATES NEED FOR 'CRITICAL' PRESS

LD140400 Warsaw PAP in English 0245 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Feb (PAP)--Poland's authorities need a critical press, Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said in an interview granted to KURIER POLSKI evening daily.

"The press should assist the authorities through rational criticism. No authorities can exist without a critical press. Naturally, there are limits somewhere to criticism. The point is that everybody understands well the supreme raison," said Rakowski, the first Polish journalist on a post of vice-premier.

M.F. Rakowski, till yesterday's nomination the many-year editor-in-chief of POLITYKA, said that he will continue to work for this most influential of Polish weeklies, which has frequently been critical of the government.

OLSZOWSKI MEETS WITH JOURNALISTS' MAIN BOARD

LD140826 Warsaw PAP in English 0216 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Stefan Olszowski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP CC, met with members of the main board of the Polish Journalists' Association here today. Both sides discussed problems of Poland's current situation and, against this background, the place and the role of the journalists' milieu.

FUEL, ENERGY SITUATION IMPROVES IN KIELCE REGION

LD151352 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] The fuel and power situation in some industrial enterprises in Kielce Region has improved slightly. A week ago coal stocks were sufficient for 1-2 days; today there are reserves for 5-7 days due to a considerable increase of coal deliveries from Silesia.

SPECULATION, 'ILLEGAL TRADE' CONTINUES IN COUNTRY

LD141318 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Despite intensive investigation carried out by the citizen, militia, the state trade control bodies and social commissions, the plague of speculation, illegal trade and favoritism is not decreasing. For corrupt people, hope of great profits is stronger than fear of prosecution.

PAP reports that in some regions of the country, speeded up legal procedure has been introduced to deal with speculators. A PAP correspondent reports, among other things, that in the Czestochow Voivodship, for instance, more than 200 illegal liquor retail sales points and 12 illicit distilleries have been liquidated; about 700 litres of mash were destroted as a result of systematic investigation carried out by the militia.

In the marketplaces of the Tarnow Voivodship, one can buy almost all goods which are in short supply, but at much higher prices. For instance, sugar is sold at Z55 per kilogram and butter at Z200 per kilogram.

STATISTICS SHOW DECLINE IN MARKET SITUATION

LD161858 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] As emerges from initial statistics from the National Bank of Poland (NBP) and from the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services, last month there was a further worsening in the state of market equilibrium. It was caused by the very rapid increase in the incomes of the population. In practice, nearly every fifth zloty had no commodity coverage. A direct result is a further weakening of money on the market and an increase in the dangerous inflationary overhang [nawis].

The value of nonimplemented market supplies amounted in January to about Z8.6 billion. Sales are rising more quickly than supplies, but this is taking place mainly at the expense of decreasing retail stocks.

Particular attention was paid to protecting the food market. In January, supplies of foodstuffs were somewhat higher than planned. This was not decided on, however, by the suppliers, but by imports. Despite this, there were further difficulties with buying many basic articles.

The January results were defined on the basis of agreements between trade enterprises and various ministerial departments. The starting point was the draft plan for this year. In February, the basis of assessment will be the agreements concluded by trade enterprises with individual producers.

SOVIET PRESS REACTION TO JARUZELSKI NOTED

LD132310 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Excerpt] Today events in Poland are being dealt with in much calmer manner than abroad. It is known who is the new premier: Correspondents have relayed the text of his statement, drawing attention to the appeal to the community for 90 hard-working, calm days. Now foreign observers are waiting for the implementation of government program.

The Soviet press today published a round-up of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's statement, and the congratulatory message sent by the Soviet leaders. Neither PRAVDA, organ of the CPSU Central Committee, nor other papers comment on recent events in Poland. Published materials are of an informative character.

HUSAK, SOVIET, OTHER MEDIA COMMENT ON SITUATION

Husak Remarks at Meeting

LD150514 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak, speaking at a party conference in Kladno, devoted a great deal of time to events in Poland. He stated that he did not intend at present to give detailed answers to questions asked on this topic during the CPCZ precongress campaign, and that it is sufficient to refer to the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum at which it was indicated that as a result of the mistakes and shortcomings of the previous period conditions had arisen in Poland which are favorable to the activities of forces hostile to socialism. Gustav Husak also stressed that it had been stated at the eighth plenum that Poland is and will remain a socialist state.

Soviet, Foreign Press

LD161022 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Feb (PAP)--Addressing a regional conference of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Gustav Husak spoke about situation in Poland and stressed the importance of the declaration made by the latest PUWP CC plenary session that Poland would remain a socialist state and meet her obligations as an ally. Husak stated that his country had gone through similar--though not fully comparable--experience in 1968-69 and was aware of the difficulties to be overcome.

Daily of the Czechoslovak trade unions, PRACE, wrote that the constructive and firm tenor of the 8th plenum and Sejm debate was winning support among the working people of Poland fed up with chaos and tensions. Special correspondent to Poland of the Czechoslovak radio reported that the 8th plenum and Sejm debate ended an important stage and, although the crisis was not over yet, there were now hopes for overcoming it.

The Yugoslav daily BORBA stated that nomination of Wojciech Jaruzelski to the post of prime minister is being interpreted as a turning point in the protracted, deep crisis.

The daily of the Soviet CP PRAVDA said in a commentary by V. Mikhailov that Western mass media were involved in an anti-communist campaign whose organizers were trying to intervene in the course of events in Poland and lend support to antisocialist forces here. Behind all this were attempts by certain circles and agencies in the West to revive organized opposition in Poland and incite it to aggressive actions against the state.

The issue of antisocialist forces in Poland is taken up by other dailies published in the socialist states. NEPSZABADSAG of Budapest, organ of the Hungarian CP, wrote that various forces opposing the socialist system were infiltrating the Solidarnosc trade unions and use them, in contradiction to the union's charter, as a vehicle for demagogic political demands. These forces provoke new strikes.

The Bulgarian Army daily NARODNA ARMYA writes that some activists of Solidarnosc, incited by antisocialist and counterrevolutionary elements, started actions and advanced demands which had nothing in common with the interests of the working class and Poland.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY SFRY ECONOMIC DELEGATION

Dragan, Niculescu Meeting

AU132046 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Feb (AGERPRES)--On February 13, Paul Niculescu, Romanian deputy prime minister and minister of finance, met with Zvone Dragan, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, chairman of the Commission for Planning and Social Development.

Questions were discussed regarding the further development of the Romanian-Yugoslav relations on multiple planes, the intensification of industrial, financial-banking and technical-scientific cooperation, the expansion and diversification of goods exchanges.

Meeting With Verdet

AU142021 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Feb (AGERPRES)--Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on February 14 Zvone Dragan, vice-chairman of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, chairman of the Commission on Planning and Social Development, now visiting Romania.

The interview was attended by Nicolae Constantin, deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Planning Committee. During the interview, they highlighted the ever upward course of the bilateral economic and technico-scientific relations, which fit in the whole of the relations of close and fruitful collaboration between Romania and Yugoslavia. Friendly emphasis was placed on the outstanding achievements scored in the Romanian-Yugoslav collaboration in important domains of mutual interest and new ways and means for its future expansion were examined.

The talk highlighted the mutual determination to work in the spirit of the understandings achieved within the summit Romanian-Yugoslav dialogue, for the more tangible development of the economic exchanges, for the attainment of all collaboration and cooperation targets planned in the 1981-1985 quinquennium. It was stressed that the sustained promotion of the bilateral collaboration is beneficial to both countries and peoples, to their progress and prosperity, to the cause of socialism and peace. The interview proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Official Talks

AU132035 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Feb (AGERPRES)--Talks started in Bucharest on February 13 between the delegations of the planning bodies of Romania and Yugoslavia, led by Nicolae Constantin, deputy prime minister, chairman of the Romanian State Planning Committee, and Zvone Dragan, vice-chairman of the Federal Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, chairman of the Planning and Social Development Commission.

During the talks they examined, in keeping with the understandings achieved during the meetings between Romania's and Yugoslavia's party and state leaders, aspects of the bilateral economic relations, with special attention paid to the activity unfolded by the planning bodies and other economic organizations in the two countries, for the further development of the economic collaboration in the 1981-1985 period.

Highlighting the good results scored so far, they discussed fresh actions and measures meant to ensure the expansion of mutually-advantageous cooperation and specialization in production, and especially of the collaboration in the basic branches of Romania and Yugoslavia's national economies, the increase and diversification of the volume of goods deliveries between the two countries in this quinquinnium.

Planning Chiefs End Talks

AU141933 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Feb (AGERPRES)--Talks between Nicolae Constantin, Romanian deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Zvone Dragan, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, chairman of the Commission for Planning and Social Development under the Federal Executive Council, concluded in Bucharest on February 14.

During the talks new ways and means were established conducive to the development of cooperation and specialization in production in energy, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, machine-building, chemistry and petrochemistry and in other priority domains of joint interest, to the increase and diversification of bilateral exchanges. At the end of the talks the chief delegates signed a protocol.

Trade Protocol Signed

LD141512 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1316 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Feb (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Romania are planning to raise the value of trade to more than four billion dollars over the next five-year period. The representatives of the two countries' governments held two-day talks in Bucharest on economic cooperation and trade for the 1981-1985 period.

The two sides, which signed a protocol today, analysed the implementation of the plan of Yugoslav-Romanian cooperation and trade during the 1976-1980 period. They noted that the total trade value had reached about two billion dollars or twice as much compared with the previous period. On the basis of such an increase in trade during the past decade, the two countries are planning a substantial increase in trade over the next five-year period.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES FRENCH BANKING OFFICIAL

AU131631 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Maurice Laure, chairman of the board of the French bank Societe Generale, who is visiting our country. During the meeting, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, the sides discussed issues concerning the continuous development of economic cooperation and trade exchanges between Romania and France. They stressed the role played by Romanian banks and the French Bank Societe Generale in promoting and expanding these relations, to the benefit of both countries and peoples and in the interest of the overall cause of peace and understanding among nations.

The sides also exchanged views on certain aspects of the world economic, financial and monetary situation. In this framework they stressed the need for greater cooperation between industrial and developing countries to eliminate economic gaps, stimulate the socioeconomic progress of developing countries, resolve economic and financial problems facing mankind, ensure world economic stability and establish a new world economic order.

French Bank Branch

AU141428 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1158 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Feb (AGERPRES)--The Bucharest branch was inaugurated on February 13 of the French bank "Societe Generale" which is intended to contribute together with the Romanian partners to a more complete use of the existing possibilities for backing the collaboration and cooperation ventures between economic organizations in Romania and in France, for their development and expansion, for the promotion of collaboration on third markets.

Societe Generale has been keeping excellent and friendly relations for more than two decades with banking institutions in Romania, especially with the National Bank and the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade--stated at the Bucharest branch's inauguration Maurice Laure, president of the Board of Directors of the French bank. The French businessman mentioned in this respect a host of financial actions and operations concluded with Romanian partners.

The spirit of collaboration shown by the representatives of Societe Generale and their Romanian partners substantially contributed to the intensification of the bilateral business between the two countries, also mentioned Maurice Laure, promising that the Bucharest branch would do its best in order to serve the amplification and diversification of the economic exchanges between France and Romania.

Appreciating in turn the foundation of the Bucharest branch of the Societe Generale as an outstanding event in the relations of collaboration on multiple planes between Romania and France, Gheorghe Crainiceanu, vice-president of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade, pointed out that this is an example of Romania's policy of wide opening to economic collaboration with all states, in various forms, finance and banking included. He appreciated the positive course of the economic relations between the two countries (a doubling of the bilateral trade in the last five years, the materialization of fruitful cooperation ventures (in aeronautics, car building, etc) and also expressed confidence that the Bucharest branch of Societe Generale would give a fresh impetus of the Romanian-French cooperation, of cooperation between them also on third markets, through seeking out concrete ways and means to promote the Romanian exports.

While in Bucharest Maurice Laure was received by President Nicolae Ceausescu and by Paul Niculescu, vice-premier and minister of finance, by executives of the National Bank and of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES MADAGASCAR PARLIAMENTARY GROUP

AU161955 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Feb (AGERPRES)--On February 16 President Nicolae Ceausescu received the parliamentary delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. The members are: Lucien Xavier Michel Andrianarahinjaka, president of the National People's assembly, and Cristophe Bezandry, vice president of the Assembly.

During the talks the sides highlighted with satisfaction the ascending evolution of the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Madagascar. Also expressed was the joint will to give a fresh impetus to the bilateral political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural relations. In this framework stressed was the role incumbent on the Romanian and Malagasy parliamentarians in the promotion of the bilateral collaboration and of the cooperation between the two countries on an external plane.

Tackled were some topical international problems. Stressed was the necessity for all the peoples to intensify efforts in view of resuming and consolidating the course towards detente, peace and respect of the national independence, for constructively solving, to the interest of the peoples, the problems confronting mankind. Expressed was the resolve of the two countries to strengthen their collaboration with the developing countries, to augment their contribution to the struggle against imperialism, for the liquidation of underdevelopment, for the setting in of a new international economic order, for the implementation of disarmament, for building a world of peace, security and equal collaboration among nations, apt to secure the independence and free, unhampered development of each people.

The interview occasioned an exchange of friendly messages between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Didier Ratsiraka.

BURTICA HOLDS TALKS WITH IRAQI MINISTER TAWFIQ

AU151840 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Feb (AGERPRES)--On February 15, Cornel Burtica, Romanican deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Ion Avram, minister of the machine-building industry, had talks with Tahir Tawfiq, minister of industry and minerals of Iraq, who is paying a visit to Romania at head of an economic delegation.

During the interview aspects were approached of the development of bilateral relations, possibilities of developing economic relations, of expanding the commercial exchanges between the two countries and promoting cooperation in various fields of activity in keeping with the understandings convenanted during the top-level meetings and talks in Buchrest and Baghdad.

The talks were attended by Ahmad Qasim Taqif, deputy minister of industry and minerals of Iraq, and Ion M. Nicolae, Romanian first deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

NONALIGNED CONFERENCE DELEGATE MEETS OFFICIALS

AU131432 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] New Delhi, 13 Feb (AGERPRES)--The chief of the Romanian delegation at the ministerial conference of the nonaligned countries, Gheorghe Dolgu, deputy minister of foreign affairs, met the minister of foreign affairs and the other heads of delegations to the conference, of Angola, Saudi Arabia, Austria, Colombia, Egypt, Switzerland, Finland, Gabon, Guyana, Lebanon, Mexico, Mozambique, Sweden and Zimbabwe, as well as of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the South-West Africa People's Organization.

During the interviews, aspects of bilateral relations were discussed as well as international problems of common interest that concern the participants in the conference.

The chief of the Romanian delegation also had an interview with Pranab Mukherjee, minister of commerce, steel and mines, the chairman for India of the Romanian-Indian Joint Governmental Commission on Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation, with whom he tackled present issues of development of the Romanian- Indian economic relations.

Gheorghe Dolgu also had an interview with R.D. Sathe, minister secretary of state, the Indian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during which they reviewed the stage and perspectives of the Romanian-Indian relations, questions of nonalignment, as well as other international problems of common interest.

Document Circulated

AU121956 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Report on Romanian document dirculated at the New Delhi Nonaligned Conference]

[Text] New Delhi, 12 Feb (AGERPRES)--Romania's delegation participating as invited guest in the ministerial conference of the non-aligned countries in Delhi circulated a document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania. After reasserting Romania's high appreciation of the role the non-aligned countries play in the international life, in the democratic settlement, in the peoples' interests, of the complex questions confronting mankind at present the document points out that the cardinal issue of our days is that of preventing a new war, of ensuring a lasting peace--a prerequisite for each people's economic and social development, for each nation's independence.

Under these circumstances, the document reads, the solidarity and cooperation of peoples, of all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces everywhere must be strengthened in order to prevent the international situation from aggravating, for extinguish all the sources of tension and war by political means, for resuming and firmly continuing the policy of peace, detente, national independence and collaboration.

Developments powerfully demonstrate that only the unhampered assertion of the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, renunciation of the use and threat of force, respect for each people's right to decide its own fate can guarantee peace, peoples' freedom, collaboration and progress in the world.

Romania considers that the current ministerial conference of the non-aligned countries is a particularly important opportunity of reaffirming the principles and goals of the non-aligned policy, of giving a fresh impetus to the struggle for ensuring peace, cardinal question of the present-day world. Life has proved that the states of tension and the conflicts, the recourse to confrontation among the non-aligned countries serve only the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy of force and dictate, of oppression and exploitation of peoples. That is why everything possible must be done for ceasing military conflicts among non-aligned countries, for solving them by political means. It is obvious that now more than ever before the capacity of action of the Non-Aligned Movement as an independent factor of the world policy, its power of positively influencing the course of events depend on the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the non-aligned countries, on their active cooperation for the triumph of a new policy of peace and understanding among nations--beyond any distinction as to social system, philosophical and ideological convictions.

Next the document points to the danger posed to peace and peoples' independence by the spiralling arms race and stresses that the current conference has a particularly important role to play in the mobilization of all states, of public opinion everywhere in the struggle for passing to measures of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for the huge funds allotted to armings to be used for the economic progress of all nations, of the developing countries in particular.

The document considers that the participants in the conference are called upon to give prime of place to the questions regarding the liquidation of underdevelopment, overcoming of the world's division into poor and rich countries, building of new-type economic relations based on equity and equality, establishment of a new international economic order, the fundamental factor of rapid progress in the lagging countries, of general economic development, of the strengthening of world political and economic stability.

The settlement of the serious and complex questions facing mankind imposes intensified efforts for the democratization of interstate relations, all countries' active and equal participation in international life, the ever more powerful assertion of the role of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing and non-aligned countries that are vitally interested in abolishing the policy of confrontation and in improving the international climate.

In conclusion, the document highlights with satisfaction the relations of friendship and close cooperation socialist Romania has with the non-aligned states, with the developing countries. The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reaffirms, on this occasion too, Romania's determination to expand the relations of friendship and solidarity, the political, economic and technical-scientific cooperation, the cooperation in other fields of mutual interest. At the same time, Romania is ready to intensify her participation in the activity of the Non-Aligned Movement, in forms of ever closer cooperation, to continuously expand her cooperation with those countries in the world areana.

RCP'S CAZACU RECEIVES GREEK COMMUNIST DELEGATION

AU141934 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Feb (AGERPRES)--On February 14, Virgil Cacacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met with Lefteris Vutas, member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party (of the interior), that paid a visit to Romania.

During the talk held on the occasion information was exchanged on the two parties' activity and concerns the joint wish being asserted to further develop the good relations and the cooperation between the RCP and the Greek Communist Party (of the interior). Aspects of the international situation were also approached.

The interview occasioned an exchange of friendly messages between Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, and Charalambos Drakopoulos, secretary of the CC of the Greek Communist Party (of the interior).

SRI LANKA PRESIDENT RECEIVES DEPUTY MINISTER DOLGU

AU161950 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Colombo, 16 Feb (AGERPRES)--On February 16 in Colombo, messages were exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Junius Richard Jayewardene, president of the Republic of Sri Lanka. The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call paid by Gheorghe Dolgu, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Romania, now in Colombo, on the president of Sri Lanka.

President Jayewardene assessed highly the sustained activity unfolded by Nicolae Ceausescu on an international plane, highlighting the principledness and dynamic character of Romania's foreign policy.

Both parties expressed satisfaction at the upward course of the friendly relations between the two countries and emphasized their determination to deepen and intensify the collaboration, both bilaterally and in international arena.

PARTY-STATE-TU ADMINISTRATION CHANGES REPORTED

AU121730 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] The RCP Central Committee decided on the following: To elect Comrade Emil Bobu as secretary of the RCP Central Committee, following which he will be released from his position as minister of labor; to recommend that he be released from the position as chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions.

To release Comrade Vasile Marin, chairman of the Council of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, from his position as secretary of the RCP Central Committee.

To recommend that Comrade Cornel Onescu be elected chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions.

TU Chairman Appointed

LD141352 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1210 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] A plenary meeting of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania took place on February 14, 1981, whose agenda comprised organizational matters. The plenum released Emil Bobu from the office of chairman of the GTUCR Central Council.

Cornel Onescu, member of the CC of the RCP, was elected member of the committee and Executive Bureau and chairman of the Central Council of the GTUCR.

TANJUG REPORTS KANIA VISIT TO HUSAK IN CSSR

LD152320 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] Prague, 15 Feb (TANGJUG)--First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Stanislaw Kania today paid a short friendly visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Secretary General of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and President of Czechoslovakia Gustav Husak. It has been reported here this evening. Stanislaw Kania is reported to have left for Poland after the meeting with Gustav Husak.

The information on the visit carried by the CTK news agency states that during the friendly talks the top leaders of the two countries acquainted each other with the situations in their countries and the activities and main tasks of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party. Also discussed were the possibilities of the further development and expansion of relations and cooperation between the two countries and parties. Husak and Kania also exchanged views on some topical issues in the international situation, trends in the international workers' and communists movement and foreign political activities of the two countries.

The information on the visit describes the talks as having passed in the cordial and friendly atmosphere of mutual understanding. The talks were expressive of the similarity of the two parties' views on all the important issues discussed, the information adds.

Gustav Husak and Stanislaw Kania underlined that "relations of firm friendship, alliance and mutually beneficial cooperation on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, fraternal cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, as well as the development of cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Comecon, represent an unalterable basis of the policy of the two parties and countries".

The information on the talks further says that Husak and Kania expressed the conviction that their meeting would make "an important contribution to the development of mutual cooperation in the interest of the peoples of both countries, peace and socialism".

Kania's visit to Czecoslovakia was not announced beforehand, and judging by the information on the talks it lasted only a few hours. It was Kania's first visit to Czechoslovakia since he came to the post of first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee.

TANJUG CITES HUSAK'S KLADNO REMARKS ON POLAND

LD160938 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 15 Feb 81

[Text] Prague, 15 Feb (TANJUG)--General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Gustav Husak has stated that "the aspirations of reactionary forces towards undermining socialist society are evident in the case of Poland".

Speaking yesterday at a district party conference at Kladno near Prague, Husak said that anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary forces in Poland were trying to destabilize Poland as a socialist state.

Husak also said that Czechoslovakia "went through something similar" in the late 1960's.

JARUZELSKI'S PRESTIGE INSURES SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT

LD152238 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 81

[TANJUG correspondent Zoran Zlatanovic Warsaw dispatch]

[Text] The last week was for Poland in an entirely definite sense crucial in the present stage of the country's internal development. Two major events: the Central Committee session and the Sejm session marked this crucial moment by confirming in a definite sense the strategy of the future development of the sociopolitical and economic relations of this socialist country.

The document adopted at the Central Committee session, the speech by the new premier, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the debate held at the Sejm session confirmed that there will be no hesitation in the decisiveness to march along this new path of socialist renewal. This path means the democratization of the country's internal life at every level and in every sphere, including the democratization of internal party life, self-management and [word indistinct] of the economic system.

The new government which is beginning to operate received at the very beginning--this is the impression--general and undivided support. It could receive this support above all on account of the exceptional prestige which General Jaruzelski, leader of the Polish People's Army, a patriot and a politician of high reputation among his fellow-citizens enjoys among the Poles. The new government is expected to implement more efficiently the course of socialist renewal under his leadership, together with constructive cooperation with the Solidarity trade union but also with decisive opposition to all rightwing trends in that trade union and to all conservative and dogmatic forces in the state and party machine itself.

The 90 peaceful days which General Jaruzelski requested could be enough to prepare everything necessary for the extraordinary congress of the party in a more peaceful atmosphere through dialogues and partnership, which would mean a new practice here.

AUSTRIAN TV INTERVIEWS GRLICKOV ON POLAND

LD132100 Hamburg DPA in German 1820 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Vienna, 13 Feb (DPA)--Top Yugoslav official Aleksandar Grlickov expressed his view on Friday that the climax of the crisis in Poland had passed. In an interview for Austrian television, Grlickov, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Yugoslav League of Communists, said that the polarization of political forces in Poland had concluded. The two sides had more or less formulated their political programs.

According to Austrian television, Grlickov said further: "They have created the bases for the search for agreement; the Gdansk agreement was only a beginning." Other agreements would follow. The pluralist forces were a reality today in Poland. Nevertheless, the "right answer" had not yet been found. But a way out of the difficulties will have to be found.

VRHOVEC ACTIVITIES AT, RETURN FROM NONALIGNED CONFERENCE

Meets Foreign Officials

LD131142 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0919 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] New Delhi, 13 Feb (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec, who heads the Yugoslav delegation to the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference here in New Delhi, continues his bilateral contacts with foreign ministers of other nonaligned countries.

Yesterday afternoon and evening, Vrhovec separately met with Foreign Ministers M. d'Escoto of Nicaragua, H. Shearer, of Jamaica, J. Illucea of Panama, K.B. Shahi of Nepal, S. Hammadi of Iraq, R. al-Nu'Aymi of the United Arab Emirates, I.K. Chinebuah of Ghana, A. Toure of Guinea and A. Conteh of Sierra Leone and also with Malta Minister of Tourism D. Cremona who heads his country's delegation to the conference.

New Delhi Interview

AU141803 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Interview with Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs and head of the Yugoslav delegation to the Nonaligned Foreign Ministers Conference, by Milorad Stevancev in New Delhi "immediately prior to the conclusion of the conference"--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Vrhovec, Yugoslavia was one of the countries that advocated that the conference be held precisely at this moment, a difficult one in international relations, did this conference fulfill expectations and to what extent?

[Answer] I would say that you yourself, following this conference, could conclude that the conference absolutely met all expectations and confirmed how necessary it was for us to meet, to discuss what is happening in the world, what the causes are leading to the present state of affairs, threatening peace in the world and equitable cooperation and endangering the independence of many countries, primarily of the nonaligned countries. This means we had many reasons for coming here, to jointly review what we should do to halt this constant deterioration in the world situation and to promote that which would lead to a strengthening of peace, security in the world, [words indistinct] and general progress.

[Question] The conference was extended for 1 day. It is no secret--we reported on this--that it was extended because of certain difficulties. (?Could you please tell us) which were the most serious, the greatest difficulties?

[Answer] First, we expected difficulties. We knew when we discussed the conference and its concept what the differences were which, to put it in this way, we would fight. And this, in fact, was confirmed. You have followed the work of both committees. You have also seen more or less in the plenum, in the general debate, what the differences were, speaking specifically, these differences are well-known problems, those few great world crises, such as in Southeast Asia, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, the problem of Egypt's representation and its status in the movement, the problem of [word indistinct] and some other problems. We are satisfied with the way in which these problems were discussed and with the solutions adopted at the conference in connection with them.

[Words indistinct] A characteristic of this conference was precisely the very active participation of all delegations in it. This means that all delegations were very interested in not only saying what they thought, but also at arriving at the solution they believed in. Thus, we are very satisfied.

In this connection, I would also like to stress several principles that were asserted in the discussion in general and in the closing document in particular. These principles are primarily those which state that the use of force in all its forms--hegemony and interference--are impermissible. The solutions to conflicts must be sought by political means. Second, this means that in those cases where foreign interference has occurred [words indistinct]. And third, we must do everything possible so the peoples of these countries, that these countries themselves, can decide in a sovereign manner about themselves, their destiny, their way of life and (?their international) position.

These are significant things that we have achieved here. They were expressed in connection with all these problems about which I have spoken. I believe it is also a good thing that we discussed the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, that all of us were aware of the dangers resulting from this conflict not only for the two countries and their independence, not only the enormous damage and human losses which this war is causing on both sides, but also the dangers (?that exist) in stability wider afield and for the nonaligned countries themselves.

[Question] What will be, in your view, the contribution of this conference, or rather the greater involvement of the movement, in solving these kinds of conflicts among nonaligned countries?

[Answer] Allow me to continue about the Iraqi-Iranian war. We set forth very clear stands about this war, we stated what the principles of nonalignment were and in which way they should be approached. We agreed that on the basis of these stands a select group of countries--we reduced this group somewhat from that group of countries that attended the Belgrade meeting--should continue with work in a [word indistinct] direction of finding a political and peaceful solution.

[Question] Comrade Vrhovec, it was noted that a large number of ministers participated in the general debate as did their associates in the discussions and working groups. In your view, what does this mean?

[Answer] This is the evidence, as I have said earlier, that now they all feel that this policy is an important [word indistinct] of their struggle for peace and security in the world, a policy in which they can find opportunities for protecting their own independence and their own progress.

[Question] Is this also an expression of the desire that the nonaligned countries should make judgments about everything?

[Answer] Yes, this also was a very important characteristic. You were able to notice this in the debate. After all, you were also able to notice during the formal session, which was devoted to the 20th anniversary of the first Nonaligned Conference held in Belgrade, that all of us who spoke at that session emphasized precisely this continuity of nonalignment, its historic need and necessity. What is particularly important is that a large number of ministers who naturally did not speak at the festive session spoke in the general debate [words indistinct]. There were many who spoke about President Tito with deepest respect and gave him the greatest possible credit and so forth. This means these are, I would say, new phenomena which demonstrate that crisis situations have a certain negative effect on our movement. This is (?incorrect) and hence also the great differences which you have witnessed in the last few days, but at the same time a general aspiration exists that we need the policy of nonalignment, that we must build the cohesion of our movement, solidarity within the movement and that we must invest maximum efforts to find fields in which we can unite and act together. This aspiration was manifested extraordinarily strongly, which is a very important and positive characteristic of this conference and [words indistinct] that will result from this.

[Question] As far as the fourth estate is concerned, the economic problems were to some extent overshadowed by political problems. Would you like to say something as to whether economic problems were represented and are represented equitably in the final document? Would you like to say something about the prospects of this economic cooperation among the nonaligned countries?

[Answer] We (?predominantly) discussed political problems because they were the most controversial. However, we also had very serious economic discussions, and I would say that (?the discussions) were held on a very good and important document.

We considered all the difficulties that we are facing now, primarily the fact that we failed in the UN General Assembly to obtain a [word indistinct] position on the need for holding worldwide talks, and how to approach the implementation of the decade of development, the strategy of development--where we also have certain weak points but in connection with which we must implement what we have laid down. A very important direction of our orientation is the strengthening of mutual cooperation and the concept of relying on one's own forces.

I believe that in this connection we already achieved rather noticeable results last year. However, the conference's conclusion and the pointing to the need that the Group of 77 countries should continue to discuss thoroughly these problems are important achievements attained in the last few days. Another field which is also of interest to you and where we can note a significant positive development is the debate on information, on the position of the information media of the nonaligned countries and their desire that they should no longer be solely an object of large monopolistic organizations that produce news, but should offer their own information about themselves to the world.

[Question] Before I express my thanks to you, allow me to ask you whether you want to add something to what you have said in this first interview after the conference?

[Answer] Yes. Perhaps I should mention what we missed saying earlier. As you know, we requested and proposed that we should adopt firm stands at this conference on our further joint activity within the UN framework on adopting a declaration on not allowing foreign interference. We worked jointly on this with Guyana and some other countries. However, we paid great attention to this problem which was successfully resolved. Second, we continued to promote the idea and need for a serious approach to the problem of preparing ourselves to contribute to a peaceful solution of conflicts among nonaligned countries.

This is an important problem and--although many controversial things still exist in this connection--there is a significant part of the movement which is afraid of any kind of mechanism. However, what we concluded here is a step forward from what we achieved 2 and 1/2 years ago at the Belgrade conference and what we achieved at the last summit meeting in Havana. Thus, I believe that we took another step or two forward and that the positions and involvement on which we have agreed will also help in discouraging in a way the most painful problems existing within our movement, that is increasingly more frequent disputes and regrettably also armed conflicts between the nonaligned countries.

[Question] Thank you very much, Comrade Vrhovec.

[Answer] Thank you.

Departure From New Delhi

LD141720 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0900 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] New Delhi, 14 Feb (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec left Delhi for Yugoslavia early this morning. Josip Vrhovec headed the Yugoslav delegation to the Non-Aligned Ministerial Conference held in India's capital from February 9 to 13.

Return to Zagreb

LD142134 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1923 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Feb (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec arrived this evening here in Zagreb, capital of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Croatia, returning from India. Vrhovec headed the Yugoslav delegation to the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference, held in the Indian capital of New Delhi from February 9 to 13.

CONFERENCE HAS COME TO 'SUCCESSFUL CLOSE'

LD141840 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 81

[Text] The subject of the commentary by Milika Sundic is what has been demonstrated by the Nonaligned Foreign Ministers Conference in New Delhi:

In spite of all the difficulties, which at any rate were expected to arise, the ministerial meeting of nonaligned countries in New Delhi has been brought to a successful close. Like many times before, the nonaligned countries have once again affirmed their vitality, their ability to talk openly and courageously even about the most difficult problems and to harmonize their stands on controversial questions even when there are differences in their views, be they great or small. The ministers would certainly have had a much easier task if they had not had to deal with problems within the Nonaligned Movement itself. However, they had to do that for the sake of both the movement and the world they address. Without that there is neither unity of the movement nor its ability to act.

The meeting in Delhi was held at the time characterized by a worsening international situation, greater bloc confrontation and increasingly evident pressure on the part of both blocks to water down the Nonaligned Movement. Participants in the Delhi meeting have resisted all that. Condemnation of military interventions was expressed, which was the most difficult problem facing the conference. There was also fresh confirmation of the strength of the original principles and nonbloc orientation of the movement. The latter would be impossible to preserve without condemnation of every interference in internal affairs of independent countries.

The ministerial meeting in New Delhi will be a great lesson for all--for those who struggled in order that the movement should preserve its nonbloc orientation and were successful as well as for those to whom natural alliance with one of the blocs is not an unfamiliar thing. Responsibility of each member country for the destiny of the movement, however, remains the same, since that is the basic condition for preserving the movement's unity and ability to act. Outside the movement and relying on one or the other bloc, this would be impossible.

Eighteen months remain until the next--the seventh--meeting of the heads of state or government of nonaligned countries. Participants in the New Delhi meeting--at least a vast majority of them--went home with the hope that at least those problems which most affect the Nonaligned Movement, that is conflicts between member countries, will be resolved by the seventh summit. This naturally implies a strict adherence to the resolutions adopted by consensus at the ministerial conference.

Here we primarily mean a withdrawal of Vietnam from Kampuchea, the invitation to Iraq and Iran to end their hostilities and a withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The Nonaligned Movement must persevere in this. It must also resist, with its moral strength, any attempt at solving conflicts between nonaligned countries by force. If this aim is achieved, and its achievement is the best visa for Baghdad for every country to which the resolutions adopted in New Delhi apply, that would be the best answer to all those who are still asking where the Nonaligned Movement is going and how it will get there. The movement is strong enough with sufficient members to persist in the defense of those values which make it an irreplaceable force in today's turbulent world. The results of the ministerial meeting in New Delhi are such as to leave no doubt in this respect.

SUNDIC CONTRASTS MILITARY BLOCS, NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

LD162358 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] In the course of the 20 years of its existence and active activity on the international scene, at every significant meeting the Nonaligned Movement always reasserted itself as an autonomous and unavoidable force in the solution of major problems, independent of the blocs and of leading world powers. Today no one doubts either the strength or the vitality of the Nonaigned Movement although attempts are still made to measure the contribution of the policy of nonalignment to world peace by bloc criteria. When blocs are trying to assess the importance of any nonaligned meeting, be it a summit meeting or a ministerial conference, they always proceed from considering as to whether the meeting favored this or that bloc. In the main the assessments depend on what the nonaligned countries concerned themselves with at their meetings and on the extent to which their decisions affected, or represented a criticism of, the conduct of the blocs. For instance any condemnation of imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid was assessed in the West as favoring the other bloc. The East does the same.

Year after year the movement is offered and has had imposed on it the formula of the natural alliance, and the movement's rejection of this is assessed as a penetration of the West and of China into its ranks. Persisting with this untenable formula, consistent and inconsistent members of the movement are sought in the movement whereby those member countries are automatically shown favor which believe in the natural alliance or which express a predilection for some actions which cannot be justified from nonaligned positions. There even exists a list of meritorious countries in the movement and since it is limited only to a specific number of such countries one could draw the conclusion that an overwhelming majority are not now classified as meritorious. However, it is clear to the Nonaligned Movement that as long as blocs exist there will be attempts to impose one thing or another on it and to weaken its unity and action capability by recourse to pressure. Throughout its existence the Nonaligned Movement has faced such problems but thanks to its strength and vitality it has always contrived not to fall into such traps even when there were reasons for concern.

It has never been a secret to anyone that not everyone in the movement thinks alike, not even on the same things. Recently, these differences have been more numerous and it is common knowledge what they consist of and what influences the existence of such differences. Yet at all meetings to date the movement has managed to overcome all the difficulties and to march intact into fresh actions. It has managed to do so without any mechanisms which exist in the blocs and which force a member country to give up its world outlook. It is true, on the other hand, that the movement devised acceptable formulas for everyone by consensus and not by outvoting.

Since the sixth summit in Havana and since the recent ministerial conference in New Delhi hardly anyone has asked what will happen to the Nonaligned Movement. Even those who wrote and spoke more about the collapse of the movement than about its activity and contribution to world peace do not now believe their prophecies. It is clear to them, too, that the movement has become a force with which everyone has to count and that there is no chance at all of this force being pushed into the margin of world events.

Of course, this does not mean that in the future the movement will be spared bloc interference and pressure. On the contrary, all this has to be expected. For this very reason the movement does not even consider being less suspicious in monitoring and analyzing the behavior of the blocs and certainly not giving it up.

The constant deterioration of the situation in the world requires the movement and every member country to step up its activity and daily confirm the line of the original principles established as early as the first conference of the nonaligned heads of state and government in Belgrade.

DJURANOVIC CONCLUDES FRG VISIT, RETURNS HOME

Meetings With Businessmen

LD131048 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0900 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Bonn, 13 Feb (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Federal Executive Council President Veselin Djuranovic today ends his 4-day official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Today, the Yugoslav Premier will visit the Baden-Wuerttemberg Land. Djuranovic's meeting in Stuttgart, the Land capital, with Yugoslav workers and representatives of clubs and communities of Yugoslav workers is awaited with great interest.

Yesterday evening, the Yugoslav Premier visited northern Rhine-Westphalia and its capital, Duesseldorf. Djuranovic got acquainted with the position of German and Yugoslav workers in northern Rhine-Westphalia, an area with one of the largest concentrations of workers in Europe.

Yesterday, before leaving for Duesseldorf, Premier Djuranovic ended his official visit to Bonn where he three times met for talks with Federal Chancellor Schmidt.

In Norther Rhine-Westphalia, the largest Federal Republic Land which accounts for one-third of the overall Federal Republic population, Yugoslav Premier Djuranovic conferred with Land government head Johanes Rau and leading businessmen. Northern Rhine-Westphalia accounts for 26 percent of Federal Republic imports from Yugoslavia and 35 percent of exports to the Yugoslav market.

In the Duesseldorf Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Premier Djuranovic said that Yugoslavia is on the whole satisfied with the level of Yugoslavia-Federal Republic trade and higher forms of economic cooperation.

It is untenable for Yugoslavia for its exports to the Federal Republic to cover only 31 percent of imports, Djuranovic said. The situation in this regard was somewhat improved last year and can further be alleviated in the coming years with higher Yugoslav exports to the Federal Republic and higher investments in the Yugoslav economy by Federal Republic partners, he noted.

The Yugoslav economy to a degree acknowledges Federal Republic businessmen's concerns regarding legislation regulating joint investments.

Return Home

LD132308 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1805 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Feb (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, this evening returned from an official visit of several days to the FRG. On arrival at Surcin Airport, Djuranovic positively assessed the results of his visit and talks which he had on this occasion with leading German statesmen.

Veselin Djuranovic; Boris Snuderl, member of the Federal Executive Council; and Milos Melovski, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, who were in Germany with the president of the Federal Executive Council, were welcomed at Belgrade airport by Dusan Ilijevic, member of the Federal Executive Council; Ivica Cacic, general secretary of the Federal Executive Council; Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, and others. The arrival was also attended by Eckehard Hallensleben, charge d'affaires of the FRG in Belgrade.

Airport Statement

AU132053 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Statement by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, on return from the FRG at Belgrade airport on 13 February--recorded]

[Text] I believe that the results of our visit to the FRG and the talks there are favorable because we discussed all basic problems in the field of bilateral relations. On this occasion we reached a significant level of understanding of the problems that have appeared in economic relations, particularly in connection with the trade deficit. My impression is that this problem will begin to be resolved by mutual efforts in the years ahead.

I want to emphasize that we carried out an extensive exchange of views on the status and living conditions of our workers in the FRG. We expressed satisfaction with the efforts the FRG Government is making in this respect, but we also noted certain unresolved questions, among which are also the problem of our workers' return and the contribution the FRG should make toward solving this problem, as well as certain questions in connection with the education of our young people and the children of our workers, questions that are linked with the preservation of their national identity.

It appears to me that here, too, we are on the way to better resolving certain unresolved problems in the future. We agreed with the federal chancellor that special representatives of the two governments should more completely review these problems so that we will see how to resolve them in the coming months.

What I want to stress in particular is the agreement about the exceptional importance there is at this moment to increase the efforts of the international community, primarily within Europe, to prevent further deterioration of the international situation. I want to stress that in this connection we particularly discussed the Madrid meeting and that we expressed our readiness to try now so that a decision on supporting the continuity of CSCE will be adopted. No adoption of such a decision would be very unfavorable for the whole spirit of the policy of detente in Europe and for the spirit of Helsinki.

All in all, I believe that we made a visit which is of importance for the further promotion of our relations, and I hope that a number of specific actions will be taken in this respect along the line of agreement.

FRG'S SCHMIDT GRANTS TELEVISION INTERVIEW

AU131915 Belgrade Domestic Television Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 9 Feb 81

[Interview with Helmut Schmidt, FRG chancellor, with Nikola Vitorovic, date and place not given--recorded in German, with Serbo-Croatian translation superimposed]

[Excerpts] [Question] Mr Chancellor, we have entered the eighties. Do you think that the trials of the world are being reduced, or that danger will be less than last decade?

[Answer] No, I do not think so. Of course nobody can foresee the future of an entire decade, but the first year, 1980, was a difficult one in foreign policy. It began with the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. The year 1981 also began with a number of international conflicts. We have been freed of the great source of danger, the holding of U.S. diplomats in Teheran, but war broke out between Iran and Iraq and other conflicts continue. There was Libyan military intervention in Chad in the center of Africa.

All this shows that the world is restless, as it has been. It seems to me that the relations between the two big powers, the United States and the USSR, can sooner be described as a lack of peace than peace.

One should bear in mind that a shadow of great economic difficulties is falling in the eighties over all the countries of the world that must import oil and cannot find it in their own territory. This applies to Yugoslavia, Poland, France, Germany, to the majority of the developing countries. We all face a few difficult years.

[Question] Our continent, good old Europe, is trying to attain an agreement on security and cooperation in Madrid. But the sounds from Madrid are not precisely optimistic. What should be done to get out of this deadlock?

[Answer] I believe that it is of essential interest for Yugoslavia, as well as for Germany, that this Madrid conference should lead to a clear mandate for a European disarmament conference. In addition, our countries are both interested in the progress and realization of everything that was agreed upon in Helsinki, just as we are interested in every respect that East-West talks should be continued and not interrupted.

[Question] Mr Chancellor, the title of a book of yours is "The Course Is Peace." A majority of statesmen speak about peace, but excessive sums are nevertheless spent to provide means which in essence endanger peace. At the same time millions of people live under the subsistence level. Whole countries are stagnating. How do you perceive this contradiction of the modern world at this moment?

[Answer] I think that in fact too much money is spent for military purposes. I agree with you. On the other hand, I believe that peace can be preserved only if a military equilibrium is maintained, at least an approximate one. If one side gains predominance, the other must fear to be exposed to pressure. Long years, decades of efforts should be made--efforts have been going on for more than a decade--to establish an equilibrium through agreements, agreements on the limitation of armaments, such as the negotiations on conventional arms in Vienna, or the SALT negotiations conducted between Washington and Moscow about strategic armaments, on European strategic weapons, on which negotiations have been conducted in Geneva since last fall between Washington and Moscow.

I must point out, however, that my country for instance is making great progress in financing development policies of the developing countries. Our development budget has been rising much more rapidly than the defense budget. I must remark, however, that the Soviet Union and the communist countries in general are making an insufficient financial and economic contribution to the development of the developing countries. I will also not hide the fact that I am not satisfied with the contribution of the oil producing countries. The OPEC countries are now earning surpluses in excess of $100 billion a year. The deficits appear chiefly among the developing countries. Everybody knows that the OPEC countries do give loans to developing countries. They should be granting aid, aid that need not be repaid.

[Question] Mr Chancellor, economists warn us that they expect lean years in the economy and that everybody will have to pay his bills, both the developed and the underdeveloped countries. You said 3 days ago that nobody in the world can live like Prospero and Miranda on a lone island. Do you think the industrial countries can extend a hand to the underdeveloped countries so they may jointly overcome their difficulties more easily?

[Answer] The industrial countries are in fact doing this. But the difficulties arise from the explosive increase in oil prices. The procedure for healing the world economy must in fact begin here. If oil prices double or quadruple every few years, consequences would necessarily arise which would lead to the destruction of some parts of the world economy. The unavoidable consequence is that states will not be able to pay their bills, or rather that, in order to avoid not being able to pay their bills, they will drastically restrict imports so they may at least buy vital oil.

This would lead to unemployment in the countries depending on exports because they lack their own raw materials. They must import raw materials and pay for them. All this is closely linked.

The developing countries, Yugoslavia and the nonaligned countries in general, should help to revise the rather common view, which was true in its time, that the industrial countries can essentially improve their fate. It must now be realized that the oil price factor and the related factor of the deteriorating balance of payments have a much greater importance for all the developing countries, be it Latin America, Asia or Africa, than the official development aid granted by the industrial countries or the private capital transfers from the industrial countries to the developing ones.

This is a painful process. One must change ways of thinking. People do not like to do so. But here it is desirable that they be changed, especially for the OPEC countries and their governments.

[Question] There also is the other side of the problem: trade barriers, protectionism?

[Answer] Protectionism does exist. I am a great opponent of protectionism, and that also goes for our government and country. It is in Germany's interest to oppose protectionism because we also rely on others to buy our goods. We have no other raw materials except hard coal. We must import, and in order to pay for our imports we must export. For this reason we are opponents of every kind of protectionism that would limit our exports. We consider this as quite natural and I believe that our interests are coordinated with Yugoslavia's.

[Question] Mr Chancellor, you have frequently stressed the need for good relations with the other German state. We know what the situation is like today. Can new steps in the dialogue between Bonn and Berlin be expected?

[Answer] Last summer we were a bit further apart than we are today. We had to postpone our envisaged visit because it was overshadowed by concern for the developments in Poland. Later the GDR Government suddenly and unilaterally increased the quota for the obligatory exchange of money for FRG travelers to the GDR. That has additionally contributed to a deterioration of the situation. The financial-economic arguments which should justify this decision were not convincing. Essentially, delimitation motives were concealed behind this measure. I believe that that measure, too, is linked with concern over developments in Eastern Europe.

I would not like to make any forecasts for the future, but there can be no doubt that we want this regulation on the exchange of money to be abolished. In addition, we want sensible mutual relations, not solely economic relations, but also political ones.

[Question] Something more about the Eastern policy, Mr Chancellor, Recently we have heard various statements with different emphases. Could these unofficial or official views influence your Eastern policy?

[Answer] Do you mean American statements?

[Question] Yes.

[Answer] I believe that one should not take too seriously what is written in newspapers. Other things, for instance, the statements made by the new U.S. President or the new U.S. secretary of state must be taken very seriously. The FRG has adhered during the last few decades to an established political line. We have always given the necessary support to NATO. We were one of the leading forces in creating the European Community. However, we have also always attached importance to the fact that we have tradually developed, in a normal way, good political and economic relations with our East European neighbors, not solely with our immediate neighbors--the GDR, Czechoslovakia--but particularly with the Polish People's Republic, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria Romania and the USSR in particular.

This will continue to be our interest in the future, too. After all, we live at Europe's junction. A part of the German people is in the West, another in the East. It is in the German people's natural interest that mutual relations do not go to hell.

[Question] If you agree, Mr Chancellor, we would like to devote several minutes to relations between Yugoslavia and the FRG. How do you primarily assess at this moment the economic relations in view of the important partnership between the two countries?

[Answer] I believe that economic relations between the two countries are good. Both have difficulties in their balances of payments, not only you--you will be surprised--but I must also state once again clearly that last year the FRG had $15 billion balance of payments deficit. Both countries have difficulties, but one should not evaluate economic difficulties too highly. On the whole, I believe that Yugoslavia has mastered very well the difficult phase after Josip Broz Tito's demise.

[Question] In conclusion, Mr Chancellor, what should both sides do so that relations between our two countries develop even more broadly in the future? What is in your file for the talks with Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, when he comes to Bonn?

[Answer] I believe that the most important point in my talks with Mr Djuranovic will be the world situation and the situation in Europe. There are no secrets in our files. We are used to speaking frankly. We will meet for the third time. I am convinced that we will have talks as frank as on earlier occasions. I will certainly learn something. I will consider myself happy if the head of your government takes away something new when he leaves Germany. Mutual confidence is a very precious thing. I am convinced that the coming visit will even more deepen this confidence.

[Question] Mr Chancellor, thank you.

KRAGUJEVAC COMMUNISTS ELECT NEW OFFICIALS

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[Text] At their session tonight, members of the Kragujevac Communal Conference of the League of Communists elected lawyer Tomislav Jovanovic, director of the Kragujevac Hotel and Restaurant Work Organization, as president of the conference, and economist Gordana Boric, director of of the Zastava-Impeks Basic Organization of Associated Labor, as secretary of the Communal Committee. The election of Jovanovic and Boric was supported by the Communal Committee and a majority of the commune's basic organizations, that is: 433 basic organizations declared themselves in favor of Jovanovic, whereas 61 basic organizations did not support his nomination; and 463 basic organizations were in favor of Gordana Boric whereas 31 of them opposed her nomination.

The communists of the organizations opposing the elections believed that workers engaged in direct production should be elected to these positions, that several candidates should have been nominated and that the nominations should come from the grassroots. Nevertheless, considering that an enormous majority of organizations has expressed their confidence in the nominated candidates, a majority of delegates of the conference joined them tonight, believing that that is the only way to overcome the disrupted political climate that has lasted in Kragujevac for several months.